MARATHA ADMINISTRATION IN TANJORE

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This is to certify that the thesis entitled "MARATHA ADMINISTRATION IN TANJORE" is based on the original work done by K.Muthunathan, M.A., Professor of History, Christian College, Martandam, during the period of his researc that the research work has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or any other similar title and that it represents entirely an independent work on the part of the candidate.

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CONTENTS

Page No.

PREFACE .. i - iv
TRANSLITERATION
INTRODUCTION .. 1 - 20

Chapters

I TANJORE UNDER THE MARATHAS .. 21 - 37
Establishment of Maratha Rule
Attempt at Expansion
Civil War
Wallajah Invasion
Growth of British Influence
II CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION .. 38 - 72
The Royal Court
Succession
Coronation
The Ashtapradhan
Mahals and the Khanahs
Transaction of Work
III LOCAL ADMINISTRATION .. 73 - 98
The Subahs
Mahanams
Vattam
Village Administration

MADURAI-21.

Page No.

Chapters

IV REVENUE ADMINISTRATION .. 99 - 134
Classification of land
Types of Land Holding
Land Revenue Settlement
Assessment of Tax
Commutation

V CUSTOMS AND OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE. 135 - 146
Sundries or Miscellany
Chillara -kudutal

VI PUBLIC EXPENDITURE .. 147 - 160
The Palace Establishment
Temple Establishment
The Public Works
Armed Establishment
Loans and Interests

VII THE MILITARY ORGANISATION .. 161 - 185
Division of the Army
Recruitment and Training
The Mercenaries
The March of the Army
Method of Warfare

Chapters		Page No.
VIII	JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION	.. 186 - 211
	The Traditional System	
	The Maratha Policy	
	Nyayadhisa Mahal	
	The Regulations of 1791	
	Crimes and Punishments	
IX	POLICE ADMINISTRATION	.. 212 - 237
	The kotwal	
	The Kavalcaras	
	The Hircaras	
	Detection of Crime	
	Kaval Allowance	
	CONCLUSION	.. 238 - 244
	Photos of Maratha Kings	
	Maps	
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	
	GLOSSARY	
	APPENDIX	

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PREFACE

The present thesis represents an attempt to discuss the different facets of the Maratha system of administration in Tanjore, situated in the southern part of India. This work is the result of my research in the School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, as a teacher candidate during the period from 1977 to 1983.

The topic was found of academic interest and historical importance. In the past Tanjore **was the** seat of Chola imperialism, but it passed into political oblivion with the expansion of the Pandya Kingdom and Vijayanagar Empire. The Marathas exercised their authority over the territory from 1676 to A.D.1799 yet their **administration** received no serious attention from the scholars. Surendranath Sen wrote Administrative System of the Marathas, Calcutta, 1935, but he missed Tanjore, for he wrongly attributed a provincial status to the kingdom. C.K.Srinivasan in his work Maratha Rule in the Carnatic, Annamalai, 1942 and K.R.Subramonian in his Maratha Rajas of Tanjore, Annamalai,1928 have ignored the administrative system, as they have concentrated their attention on political developments. K.Rajayyan published A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, Mysore, 1969, but by its very nature the emphasis is on political relations. In view of these the present work forms an original contribution to historical scholarship.

It was possible to identify the data, that were needed for analysis for the reconstruction of the history of Maratha administration in Tanjore. But considerable difficulty was experienced, as the related records were in the languages of Marathi in Modi Manuscript, Telugu, Tamil, Dutch, Danish, French and English. While many of them were deposited in public repositories, particularly the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore, and State Archives, Madras, others were in the possession of private individuals, belonging to the families of early chieftains. As a result it was found essential to get the aid of several pandits for translation and 'informants' to gain clues to locations. Yet no succinct account could be worked out. Fortunately the records of the English East India Company, Fort St.George and French East India Company, Pondicherry, came to the rescue The data that they supplied were not only in chronological order but also of corroborative value.

I owe a deep sense of gratitude to my guide and Supervisor Dr.K.Rajayyan, M.A.,M.Litt., A.M.,Ph.D. Professor and Head of the Department of Modern History, School of

Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai. He was a source of inspiration to me always, for during moments of disappointment it was he who encouraged me and guided through difficulties. His scholarly guidance made the completion of the work possible. I express my sincere thanks for his help and encouragement, without which this work could not have come to light.

I am also thankful to Dr.A.Suryakumari, Professor and Head of the Department of History, St.Mary's College, Tuticorin. As Member of the Doctoral Committee, she helped me with useful instructions.

I convey my thanks to Mr.G.Viswanathan, the Telugu Pandit, Mr.T.R.Bhima Rao, the Marathi Pandit and Mr.Rambavaswami, the Modi Pandit of the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, for the help that they extended in translating the source materials from Telugu, Marathi and Modi languages into Tamil respectively. My sincere thanks are due to Dr.P.Sarveswaran, Dr.D.Daniel and Dr.B.Sobhanan of the School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University for their kindness in going through the typed scripts and suggesting corrections. I am equally thankful to Mr.P.Chellathurai, Research Scholar, School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University for extending the needed facilities connected with my research.

My thanks are due to the Governing Board of Christian College, Martandam, for the permission that they granted to do research, staff of the Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras, the Jesuit Archives, Shembahanur, the staff of Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Connemara Library, Madras, the University Libraries at Madras and Trivandrum and Dr.T.P.Meenakshisundaram Library, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, for the facilities that they offered to me to consult source materials.

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TRANSLITERATION

Vowels

a	அ
ā	ஆ
i	இ
ī	ஈ
u	உ
ū	ஊ
e	எ
ē	ஏ
ai	ஐ
o	ஒ
ō	ஓ
k	ஃ

Consonants

k/g/h	க்
ṅ	ங்
ch/s/j	ச்
n	ஞ்
ṭ/ḍ	ட்
ṇ	ண்
t	த்
n	ந்
p/b	ப்
m	ம்
y	ய்
r	ர்
l	ல்
v	வ்
ḻ	ழ்
ḷ	ள்
ṟ	ற்
ṉ	ன்

NOTE: Common names like Tanjore, Nagapattanam, rajah, Marathas, etc., shown without diacritical marks.

INTRODUCTION

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In the history of the Carnatic, Tanjore, by virtue of its political status and economic resources, had a significant role. After the disintegration of the Cōḻā Empire, it came under the Rayas of Vijayanagar, the Nayaks and finally the Marathas in succession. The Marathas stepped in by 1676 A.D. taking advantage of the chaotic condition that prevailed under the Nayaks. Because of the fluctuations of fortune, its frontiers never remained constant. However, by 1730 the boundaries settled around the delta of river Kaveri. It was bounded on the north by river Coleroon, separating it from Arcot. On the west it was bounded by the kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Pudukkottai and on the south by Ramnad. On the east the Bay of Bengal gave a natural boundary.

The Land and the People

Situated between 9° 42' and 11° 24' of north latitude and 78° 47' and 79° 52' east longitude on the east coast of peninsular India, Tanjore shares with the rest of South India a tropical climate. The rainfall is about forty inches a year. A number of streams flowing from the Kaveri such as Vennar, Vettar, Arisilar, Virasolagam, Kudamurti and Mummyar[1]. have made Tanjore a well-watered garden.[2] Enriched with alluvial soil, the delta area is wonderfully suited for cultivation of paddy and sugarcane. Beyond the delta area too, the soil is rich in red loam, black cotton soil, sandy light earth and yellow clay. Coconut trees, plantain groves, tobacco gardens, indigo, jasmine flowers and palmyra trees, besides paddy and sugarcane, present a pleasing sight. James Welsh rightly called it the garden of the Carnatic.[3]

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[1] Report for Making a Permanent Settlement, 1806, p.25.

[2] Jesse Page, *Schwartz of Tanjore,* New York, 1921, p.90.

The jungles and forests are very limited in extent. In the past jungles abounded with antelopes, spotted deer and wild hogs, but they vanished with the extension of cultivation. In addition to the scenic beauty of the country, the great pagodas[4] of Tanjore and Tiruvarur, numerous choultries, the Minaret of Nagore and the Tower of Nagapattanam[5] render the land attractive. Sand drifts along the coasts, swamps on the southern coast line, rock crystal and sand stone mark the distinguishing features of the landscape.

The sea is noted for its fisheries and pearl oyster beds.[6] The coastal line is long and unbroken; hence natural harbours are rare. The Palk Bay being shallow, big ships are prevented from anchoring at its shore. Therefore trade was carried on with small boats.[7] Paddy, dry fruits, brass and copper vessels, silk and carpets form the chief items of imports. Nagore, Tranquebar,[8] Nagapattanam and Devikottai have retained their importance as sea ports to the present day. Tanjore, Mayavaram, Kumbakonam and Mannargudi are the important towns. Tamil is the popular language, though Telugu and Marathi are also spoken in certain areas.

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[3] James Welsh, Military Reminiscences, Vol.I, London, 1830, pp.16-17.

[4] Pagoda: In the ordinary sense pagoda means a temple. Pagoda was also a coin in circulation during the period under study. A pagoda was valued at rupees three and a star pagoda rupees three and a half.

[5] **Nagapattanam** - was one of the principal settlements **of the Dutch.** Naga means serpent. Pattanam means city. This name was given to the place since the locality was infested with snakes. Nieuhoff, J., Voyages and Travels into Brazil and the East Inies, London, 1703, pp.246-247.

[6] Hickey, W., The Tanjore **Mara**tha Principality in Southern India, St.Thome, 1874, pp.4-28.

The inhabitants of Tanjore belong to several communities often with differences in customs, manners, religions and languages. Majority of the inhabitants are of Dravidian stock, while the others belong to the Aryan stock. The Parayars and Pallars are largely field workers. The Vellalar, Pallis and Kallars are peasants. The Tamil Brahmins have established themselves mostly at Kumbakonam. The Kariyans are the fishing

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7. Thornton, E.,(ed.), Gazetteer of India, Vol.IV, London, 1854, p.648.

8. Tranquebar was a Danish settlement situated on the Coromandal Coast. The Danes bought it from Raghunatha Nayaka in 1612 and later on they purchased fifteen more villages from the Maratha kings. This settlement was the first Protestant Missionary station in the South.
Ogilvie, J.N., The Apostles of India, London, (n.d.), pp.210-213.

community while the Nokkans are rope dancers and Melakkarans are the musicians. Besides agriculture many are employed in commerce, oil-pressing and weaving.[9]

Early History

Tanjore was the home land of the Cōḻā Empire. The early Cōḻās reached the zenith of power under Karikala during second century A.D., but they declined because of a civil war between Nalankilli and Nedunkilli. For more than five centuries from 300 A.D., the Kalabras, the Pandyas and the Pallavas ruled over the country.

After a successful campaign culminating in the battle of Thiruppurambiam against the Pallavas, Aditya I (870-907) of the Cōḻā dynasty re-established the lost glory of the Cōḻās. His son Parantaka I (907-953) raided the Pandya Country, vanquished the Banas and the Vaidumbas and extended the empire upto Nellore. Raja Raja, (985-1016), the most illustrious of the Cōḻās, invaded Ceylon and established his sway over parts of that island and built the great Temple at Tanjore. His son Rajendra I (1016-1044) who was equally great as his father invaded Malaya, Sumatra, Orissa and Bengal. Kulotunga I

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[9] Hunter, W.W., Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.2, Calcutta, 1908, pp.132-134.

(1070-1120) was the last of the great Cōḻās. During his reign the overseas territories slipped away. The Cōḻās made their exit from power at the end of the eleventh century. Their rule was noted for progress in art and architecture.[10]

After the decline of the Cōḻās, the fortune of Tanjore took a different turn. During the thirteenth century it passed under the control of the Pandyas of Madurai and in the fourteenth century it fell a prey to Afghan imperialism. By 1311 A.D. during the conflict between Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya of Madurai, Malik Kafur, the general of Ala-ud-din Khilji, occupied the Pandya kingdom. Tanjore became part of Ma'bar, the southern most province of the Sultanate of Delhi.[11] In 1335 Jalal-ud-din Hasan, the Governor of the province, asserted his independence and for four decades his successors ruled over Madurai. In 1370 Kumarakampana at the command of the forces of Vijayanagar, overthrew the Mohammadan regime. Eventhough the political changes were significant, there was no improvement in the political status of Tanjore.[12]

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10. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., The Colas, Madras, 1955, pp.110-130.

11. Venkata Ramanayya, N., South India and Her Mohammaden Conquerors, Delhi, 1921, pp.3-8.

12. Venkata Ramanayya, N., The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, Madras, 1942, pp.13 -128.

Achyuta Raya (1530-1542), the Emperor of Vijayanagar, made Tanjore a province under his Governor, Devapppa Nayaka With the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire by 1565, the then Governor, Achyutappa Nayaka (1560-1614) asserted an independent status. His son and successor Ragunatha Nayaka (1600-1634) made Tanjore a seat of learning. He was succeeded by Vijaya Raghava Nayaka (1634-1674) who built forts for defence and temples for worship.[13]

The Nayaks of Tanjore remained loyal to the kings of Vijayanagar and opposed the Nayaks of Madurai. This put them into constant conflict with the Nayaks of Madurai and led to the loss of the kingdom. Chokkanātha Nayaka(1659-1682), the ruler of Madurai, sent his envoys to Vijaya Raghava with a request to give the latter's daughter in marriage to his son but the latter insulted the envoys. The enraged Chokkanatha sent his general Venkata Krishnappa Naidu against Tanjore. The Madurai forces defeated and killed Vijaya Raghava in 1673 and occupied the kingdom.[14] Tanjore became a province of Madurai, but Alagiri Nayaka the new Governor, revolted and declared his independence.[15] The situation created by the Madurai invasion and consequent rebellion contributed to the establishment of Marathá rule in Tanjore. For more than a century, that is, from 1676 to 1799 it was a Maratha kingdom.

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[13] Vriddhagirison, V., The Nayaks of Tanjore, Annamalai Nagar, 1942, pp.21-130.

[14] Krishnaswami Aiyangar, S., Sources of Vijayanagar History, Madras, 1919, pp.325-326.

Sources of Information

The original sources for the Maratha administration in Tanjore covering the period from 1676 to 1799 are limited in extent and scope. However, the available records supply much information. The secondary sources are meagre. The sources belong to different categories. They are mostly Eccelesiastical Letters, Diaries, Madras Government Records, Reports and Journals. These constitute primary sources of information. Literary sources and inscriptions are also of help but they supply only scanty information. District Manuals, Gazetteers and Diaries that are prepared by Government officials of Madras, Robert Oorme's "History of Indostan", Mark Wilks "History of Mysore", James Welsh', "Military Reminiscenees" and K.Rajayyan's, "Administration and Society in the Carnatic" and "A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore" form the secondary sources.

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[15] Sathyanathaier, R., Tamilaham in the 17th Century, Madras, 1956, pp.90-95.
Also Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, Mysore, 1969, p.12.

The letters of the Jesuit Fathers of Madura Mission to the General of the Society at Rome are the primary epistolary sources for the history as well as the administration of the Marathas in Tanjore. These letters were written in Latin, Italian or Portuguese, and were translated into French by Father Bertrand of the Society of Jesus and published in four volumes between 1847 and 1854. Several of them or their extracts, that are translated into English, are found in Rev. L.Besse's "*Father Beschi, His Times and His Writings*" and "*Chanda Sahib and Beschi*" and R.Sathyanathaier's "*History of the Nayaks of Madurai*", John Lockman's "*Travels of the Jesuits* and John Nieuhoff's "*Voyages and Travels into Brazil and East Indies*" . They deal with the religious activities of the Jesuits and throw light on the political and social history of the period.

The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai is an interesting and valuable narrative. It deals with political developments and social, economic and religious life of the people from 1736 to 1761. Ananda Ranga Pillai was appointed as the *Dubash* or Courtier to Joseph Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, in 1747. Working in this position till 1756, he made it a practice to record the day to day occurrences in his *Diary*. In 1892 the Madras Government came to know about the availability of the *Diary* and brought it under its custody. Later on it was translated into English and published in twelve volumes between 1904 and 1924. The period which the *Diary* covers was politically important in the history of the region. The throne of Tanjore was occupied by king Pratap Singh known as the diplomat among the Maratha kings. The Nevayets and the Wallajahs contested for political ascendancy in the Carnatic, as a result of which the Wallajahs emerged successful. The French and the English in the meantime embarked upon a struggle for gaining control of the South. Ultimately the English won a decisive victory over the French in the battle of Wandiwash in 1760 and emerged supreme. While writing about the political transactions, social customs and internal developments the Diarist leaves much information about the administrative system of the Carnātic including Tanjore.

The official documents of the Government of Madras are of considerable importance. They consist of Tanjore District Records, Collectorate Records, Agency Correspondence, Nagore Factory Records, Mayavaram Correspondence, Military Country Correspondence, Military Consultations, Revenue Consultations, Board's Consultations, Sundries, Fort St.David Consultations and Despatches to and from England. The Reports of various committees appointed to inquire into the affairs of Tanjore also supply information regarding the administration. The Modi Manuscripts preserved in the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal

Library as well as in the State Archives, Madras, are useful for the administrative history of Tanjore.

The Tanjore District Records and the Collectorate Records consist of correspondences between Government officials and Local Sub-Division Officers dealing with, among other things, the revenue and local administration. Of these correspondences, the Reports of Charles Harris and Letters to the Board of Revenue between 1800-1804 supply accounts on the mode of collection and other details of the revenue administration. Charles Harris served as Collector at Trichinopoly, Mannargudi and Tanjore and in 1800 he was appointed Collector of Mannargudi. His correspondence with the Board of Revenue furnishes much data on revenue administration. As a Collector he made a thorough study of the various taxes, collected by the Marathas. In his attempt to introduce a better system, he reported the study to the Board of Revenue. The Mayavaram Correspondence consists of letters on revenue administration sent and received between the Board of Revenue and the Residents. They supply information pertaining to the taxes collected during the Marātha administration too.

The volumes of records described as 'Military Country Correspondence' contain English translations of letters written in Tamil, Marathi, Telugu and Persian. These letters were exchanged by the rulers and the deputies of neighbouring country powers and the governors of Fort St.George. Occasionally they throw light on the administrative establishments of the country powers, court customs and conventions, social life of the people and administration of justice.

The Factory Records are commercial in nature. Among the Factory Records, the Dutch Records and the Danish Records narrate political events and at the same time shed light on the administrative side also. The Danish Records cover the period from 1777 to 1815 and they give details of commercial and political transactions. In the meantime they throw light on administrative aspects also.

Among the other sources, the Report of Tanjore Commissioners, 1799; The Report of a committee on the General Embezzlement in the Country, 1804; Charles Harris's Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804; Thiruvendipuram Farm Report, 1775; Report for making of Permanent Settlement, 1806; Report of the Police Committee, 1813; Lord George Pigot's Narrative of the Late Revolution in the Government of Madras, 1771; and the Defence of Lord Pigot, are of particular interest. The Tanjore Commissioners' Report deals with revenue and judicial matters of the period. Harris's Report to the Committee on General Embezzlement, 1804, tells of the revenue systems. The Police Committee's Report of 1813 describes the police organisation of the country. Though some of these records belonged to the later years, they refer to the previous systems of administration and then proceed to describe the later modification that was attempted. The reporters generally allowed their convictions and practices to influence their view points, but the value of their reports as sources of information cannot be ignored.

The records known as the Sundries belonging to different departments shed much light on the administrative history of the Marathas in the territory. Of the Sundry Records, the Military Sundries, Judicial Sundries, and Revenue Sundries are useful to ascertain administrative practices not only in Tanjore but also in the Carnatic. The Military Sundries supply information pertaining to the military establishments of the country powers and the Carnatic as a whole. Among the reports, Captain Read's Report on the Forts of the Carnatic and the nature of the Military of the Carnatic is of much relevance to the system in Tanjore.

The volumes of records called the Judicial Sundries contain much data on police organisation. The Report of Captain M.Duck, Collector of the Ceded Districts, is of much use for a comparative study of the police organisation in

Ganjam, Srikakulam, Vizagapatnam, Rajahmundry, Guntur, Salem and Coimbatore with that in Tanjore. I.Wallace's Reports on the police establishments of Tanjore and Trichinopoly have a direct bearing on the present study. Irwin Wallace, as the Collector of Trichinopoly and Tanjore in 1805, dealt with all the departments of administration. He has discussed the nature of the police organisation under the Maratha Government. As such it serves as a valuable source of information for the police organisation especially the village police under the Marathas. Further, W.Thackeray's sketch of the Police Regulations of the Province of Tanjore deals with the central polic organisation mostly. W.Thackeray, as Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, was acquainted with the country powers and their administrative organisations.

Sets of Records called the Tanjore Proceedings and Assumed Revenue Records, belonging to the period between 1790-1795 deal with different aspects of administration in the light of assumption of the revenue of Tanjore. After the takeover of the revenue and the military administration of Tanjore, Sir Archbald Campbell, the Governor of Fort St.George, deputed John Chamiers to Tanjore to manage the military administration. George Andrew Ram was sent as the Collector of Western Division of Tanjore while Earnest William Fallow Field was the Collector of Eastern Division of Tanjore in 1792. They studied the administration and reported to Fort

St.George about the situation that prevailed in Tanjore. In their Report, the details like preparation of budget by the Marathas and the expenditure on royal household had not escaped attention.

The Modi Manuscripts preserved in the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library and Madras State Archives throw light on the administrative details. Most of the references available in the Modi translations are useful for corroboration. However, as they are not arranged chronologically it is found essential to compare with the data that are given in the Company's records.

The Marāthas patronised Marathi and Sanskrit scholars and most of the works of these scholars are literary in nature Though literary their value can be great but their historical value is much limited. Yet one cannot ignore *Sahēndra-Vilāsa,* a poem on the life of King Shahji, composed by Sridhara Venkatesa alias Ayyaval, for the present study. The author has mentioned about the life of king Shahji and his virtues. *Pratāpasimha-Vijaya-Prabhanda*, composed by Rāma Krishna Kavi Pandit , a contemporary of Pratap Singh is historical in content. The work deals with the conquests and death of Dost Ali Khan, the adopted son of Sadat-Ul-lah-Khan, the first Nevayet Nawab of the

Carnatic. The early rulers of Tanjore paid tribute to the Nawab of the Carnatic, but as Pratap Singh appeared reluctant, the Nawab invaded Tanjore. In order to save his kingdom from the invaders Pratap Singh solicited the help of his cousin, Sahu, the King of Satara. Accordingly Sahu despatched an army of 50,000 under the command of Raghuji Bhonsle and Fatteh Singh. At Dāmalcheruvu, a battle was fought and Dost Ali was killed. Written in Marathi, but was translated by A.**Krishnaji** Raje Mahadic, it throws much light on the military system of the Marāthas and their methods of warfare. Though, the incident narrated is historical, the poet misses no opportunity of praising the royal patron.

There are also other works like Sendalangāran Viraliviḍu Thūthu, a popular poem of love message in which the poet eulogises his patron Sendalangāran, an aṭṭavaṇa i.e. head of the taxation department under King Shahji. Mudrārākṣasa - Nāṭaka-Kathāsāra, a short work in Marathi composed by Raja Pratap Singh of Tanjore, enlightens the historian with some hints on his administration.

Archaeological sources for writing the administration of the Marathas of Tanjore are practically nil. However, Robert Sewell in his Archaeological Survey of South India gives a few references to political and administrative matters. The Bhonsle-Vaṁsa Charitā, a Marathi inscription, found on the walls of Tanjore Temple, translated by V.Srinivasachari, a Librarian, and published in 1951, tells of the Maratha dynasty and the nature of taxation as well as administration.

Abbe Dubois (1765-1848), a missionary of the Pondicherry Mission, wrote Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies. Originally written in French, it was translated into English and published by Henry K.Beauchamp in 1897. He lived with the people of the far south and walked through the country closely observing the customs, manners and practices of the different communities. While describing the habits, he did not miss the local institutions especially judiciary. This work is not only useful for the study of the social order of the day but also for the administrative institutions. Francis Buchanan's Journey Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar, is a travel account. It deals with the social and religious conventions and communal restrictions during those times. While describing them, he mentions the local institutions and communal judiciary and their modus operandi.

N.Manucci's Storia Do Mogor in eleven volumes, published in 1907 and James Hough's History of Christianity are worth mentioning. 'Manucci's Storia Do Mogor', tells of King Shahji's persecution of the Jesuit missionaries. James Hough in his History of Christianity deals with the growth and development of Christianity not only in the Carnatic but in the whole of India. These sources describe the religious activities and give interesting glimpses of the political, social and economic condition of the period.

Mark Wilk's 'Historical Sketches of the South of India' is an attempt to trace the history of Mysore in two volumes. Published in 1869, it gives a sketch of the political occurrence of the period. Wilks reached Madras to join the Madras Army as a Cadet in 1783. Later on he was appointed to take command of the Madras Army but due to the climatic condition he could not do so. He found employment as Secretary to the Military Board at Madras and in 1789 became Aide-de-Camp to the provisional Governor, John Holland. Next Year, he was appointed Brigade Major and Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Stuart. He remained with him throughout the war with Tipu. As an eyewitness, he describes the campaign with authority. While describing the campaign, he gives us information pertaining to the military administration. After the peace of 1792, he served as an Assistant Adjutant General in 1793, then as the Military Secretary to General Stuart in 1794; but due to ill-health he returned to Europe, where he died in 1799.

"The Memoirs of Schwartz", published in 1839 in two volumes, shed light on military, administrative and other matters of interest. Christian Frederich Schwartz, born at Sonunberg in Prussia in 1726, dedicated his life to missionar work. After his education at the University of Halle, he joi the missionary band in 1750 to serve at Tranquebar. Between 1766 and 1778 he served at Trichinopoly and in 1778 reached Tanjore, where he worked for nineteen years as a missionary and political agent to the English. In the annual letter of 1769 Schwartz wrote that Tuljaji rajah was a man of considera intellectual power but was self-indulgent in his habits like the majority of his clans in those days, but free from many o the usual prejudices.[16] "The rajah was more a slave than king".[17] was his statement about his court life. He won the confidence of king Tuljaji and wielded considerable influence After serving prince Sarfoji, as a friend and guide, he passe away in 1798. As a missionary he earned the respect of the kings and the people alike. While condemning the mode of living of the English in the South and the character of some of the Indian Princes, the politician missionary wanted them to rectify their ways.[18] K.Rajayyan's "A History of the

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[16] Ogilvie, J.N., Op.cit., p.253.

[17] Hugh Pearson, Memoirs of Schwartz., Vol.I, London, 1839, p.168.

[18] "I wish you may read history, by which you may be instruc ted in every necessary point. History shows how princes have exercised justice, benevolence... which they have made the whole nation happy. But informs you like wise how many princes have indulged in wickedness, and impiety sloth and cruelty by which they have ruined their lives. In short it is and will always true, what was said to an israelitish king, Thou hast forsaken God, Therefore God

British Diplomacy in Tanjore" is an attempt to bring to ligh the relationship between Tanjore **Maratha** Kingdom and the Brit

Among the works of a general nature Bandala Ramaswami Naidu's, "Memoirs on the Internal Revenue System of the Madra Presidency" gives information on local administration. W.H. Bayley's "Memorandum of Land Revenue Measures and on weights and Measures", F.L.Ellis's "Replies to Seventeen Questions" proposed by the Government of Fort St.George, relating to Mirasi Right, published in 1862, F.W., Ellis's "Papers on Mirasi Rights Selected from the Records of Government", published in 1862, deal with the land tenure in the Madras Presidency, including Tanjore. The journals published by the Tanjore Maharajah Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library are limi in scope.

In fact the accounts given by these sources on the Marat administration in Tanjore yield facts for study. They sugges that the Marathas erected an administrative structure on the traditional system. Neither purely of the Marathas nor a cop from other set up, it combined in itself different systems which were made suited to their interests. Consequently there emerged no orderly system, beneficial to all the inhabitants. The superior officers could not restrict the inferior to their respective areas. In the absence of any demarcation of powers between different departments there was overlapping and duplication. The available records show that the Maratha appointed counterparts to the Maratha officers. As a result the people did not know who was the _de facto_ authority and who was the _de jure_ authority. Yet what was of consequence was that they remained in power for more than a century and carried on with their system of administration until the British took over the kingdom. The situation that prevailed in Tanjore reflects upon the administration in South India during this period.

CHAPTER I

TANJORE UNDER THE MARATHAS

In A.D.1676 Tanjore passed into the possession of the Marathas. At the orders of Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur, Ekoji the Maratha general and the half-brother of Sivaji led an expedition in defence of Chengamaladas, the representative of the dethroned Nayaks. He defeated Alagiri Nayak, the ruler of Tanjore, in a battle fought at Ayyampet and enthroned Chengamaladas on behalf of the Sultan. This led to the establishment of Maratha influence in the kingdom.

Establishment of Maratha Rule

The political change that Ekoji effected in Tanjore represented an extension of the influence of Bijapur to the Kaveri delta. However, in 1676 the Sultan passed away and Ekoji found it possible to assert his own authority. He deposed Chengamaladas and took over the possession of the State.[1] This was of great significance, for the Marathas not only extended their influence to the Tamil Country but also secured possession of a fertile territory in the deep south.

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[1] Hickey, W., Op.cit., pp.81-83.

Ekoji not only gained possession of the kingdom but also consolidated his rule. He brought public servants from the Deccan and carried out the reorganisation of the administrative system.[2] Though he promoted cultivation, he lost no opportunity in exacting as much as he could from the peasants. Father Britto, an eye witness to the developments, has stated: "Ekoji takes away four fifths of all produce. As if this were not enough, he enforces payment in cash and as he is careful to fix the price himself much above what the owner can realise, it happens that the sale of the whole harvest is never sufficient to pay the tax. Accordingly the cultivators are burdened with a crushing debt and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay, when they have to pay, by submitting to barbarous tortures. It will be difficult for you to conceive of such oppression".[3] This observation reflected upon the nature of Maratha administration, that the inhabitants had to endure from the very beginning.

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2. Sardesai, G.S., New History of the Marathas, Poona, 1946, pp.241-242.

3. Bertrand, J., La Mission Du Madure, Vol.III, Paris, 1850, p.338.

Influenced perhaps by Ekoji's success in Tanjore and encouraged by the support extended by Golconda, Sivaji decided on a similar venture. He led an expedition to the Carnatic in 1677 and occupied Jinji and Vellore.[4] In view of the rivalry between the two half-brothers Sivaji's presence on the northern bank of river Coleroon presented a serious threat to Tanjore. However, the death of Sivaji in 1680 removed the threat. Nevertheless Ekoji sold his jāgīr of Bangalore for three lakhs of rupees to Chikkadeva Raya the ruler of Mysore and with that amount strengthened his army and improved the defences.

Attempts at Expansion

The existence of Jinji in the north and Madurai in the west offered no scope for the expansion of the Marathas of Tanjore in these directions. However, the kingdoms of Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai appeared so weak that, Tanjore felt it possible to annex them. As a result the successors of Ekoji, namely Shahji (1684-1712), Sarfoji (1712-1728) and Tukkoji (1728-1736) made repeated attempts at expansion. The interventions that they made in the affairs of other states, the expeditions that they sent frequently and invasions that they had to encounter from the Carnatic had their natural impact upon the administration. For forces were to be recruited, provisions were to be collected and taxes had to be increased. These developments imposed new burdens upon the inhabitants and strains to the administration.

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[4] Sardesai, G.S., Op.cit., pp.240-244.

In a bid to extend their sway the Marathas interfered in palace intrigues and internal disorders, supported one side or other and frequently changed sides, depending upon exigencies. Taking advantage of the conflict between Ramnad and Madurai, King Shahji supported the former. Reinforced by the troops of Tanjore, the Setupati of Ramnad invaded Madurai in 1698, but suffered reverses. Thereupon Shahji won the alliance of the Setupati and occupied a few villages from the Nayaks of Madurai.[5] After the death of Shahji, his son Sarfoji I interfered in a civil war in Ramnad. While Tanjore took the side of Bhavani Sankaran, Madurai took the side of Tanda Tevar. The successful Bhavani Sankaran ceded the northern area of Ramnad to Tanjore in recognition of the assistance that he received.[6]

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5. Besse, L., Father Beschi, His Times and Writings, Trichinopoly, 1918, pp.121-138.

6. Srinivasan, C.K., Maratha Rule in the Carnatic, Annamalainagar, 1942, pp.223-227.

However, when Katta Tevar appeared as a rival to Bhavani Sankaran, Sarfoji supported the former in defeating the latter and acquired possession of more territory.[7] Tukkoji, the successor of Sarfoji, took up the cause of Bhavani Sankaran and sent an expedition against Katta Tevar but suffered defeat. As a result Ramnad regained possession of the territories which it ceded on earlier occasions.[8] Because of the questionable tactics played by the Marathas, they became undependable to all the local powers.

What presented a real challenge to the security of Tanjore was the rise of Arcot. Emperor Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur and Golconda and created a new province in the south, with Arcot as capital. The Marathas of Tanjore incurred his displeasure because of their support to their fellow Marathas under Rajaram for the period was marked by a bitter struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas. In 1691 Zulfikar Khan, the Mughal Governor of Arcot, marched upon Tanjore and levied a contribution of four lakhs of rupees.[10] Henceforth Tanjore was consi-

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7. Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.15.
8. Josias Du Pre in Council, 3 April 1771, Military Consultations, Vol.41, pp.107-109. (hereinafter referred to as M.C.)
9. Rajayyan, K., History of Madurai, Madurai, 1974, p.68.
10. Fort St.George, Diary and Consultation Book, 26 August 1791, p.41.

dered a tributory to Arcot. Sadat-ul-lah Khan (1713-1722) and Dost Ali (1722-1740) the Nawabs of Arcot sent frequent expeditions and collected tribute from Tanjore.[11] As a result, the Marathas were deprived of the needed resources either to support a large army or to maintain their administrative system in order.

Civil War

In addition to foreign invasions, internal disorders seriously affected the Maratha administration. King Tukkoji had five sons - Bava Sahib, Shahuji, Anna Sahib, Nana Sahib and Pratap Singh. Among them Anna Sahib and Nana Sahib died during the life time of their father. On the death of Tukkoji in 1736 Bava Sahib succeeded to the throne with the name Tukkoji II. However, he passed away in a few months after succession. Thereupon Sujana Bai, the widow of Bava Sahib, gained the support of Seid Khan, the Commander of the forces and succeeded to the throne.[12] This marked the beginning of internal disorders.

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11. Hussain Nainar, (ed.) Tuzak-i-Walajahi, Part I, Madras, 1934, pp.58-64, also Besse, L., Op.cit., pp.121-138.

12. Venkataswami Row, T., (ed.) Tanjore District Manual, Vol.2, Madras, 1915, p.775.

After two years, Sahuji deposed Sujana Bai and captured power. Before long there appeared a pretender by name Sidhoji, who won the support of Seid Khan and occupied the throne. Driven to exile, Sahuji requested the French to extend their support in return for an offer to cede Karaikal and Kirkangarhi. Bennoit **Dumas** (1735-1741), the Governor General of Pondicherry, accordingly entered into an agreement with the prince. He sent two war ships with troops and artillery. However, before the French landed on the shore of Tanjore, Sahuji won over Seid Khan and drove Sidhoji out of power. As a result the French endeavour to gain a foot hold in the kingdom failed.[13] The disappointed Dumas sought the aid of Chanda Sahib, the general of Nawab Dost Ali. Accordingly Chanda Sahib occupied the two places and forced Sahuji to cede them to the French.[14] As the price of the two places, the Maratha prince received 50,000 pagodas. Thus the internal disorders invited Nawab's intervention and loss of a part of the territory.

Since then more of troubles followed. Safdar Ali, son of Nawab Dost Ali, led an expedition to Tanjore in 1739 and replaced Sahuji by Pratap Singh.[15] As the situation appeared critical, Sahuji appealed to King Sahu of Poona. In respon to this appeal and determined to assert their influence, th Marathas descended upon the Carnatic in strength. They defeated and killed the Nawab in the battle at Damalcheruvu in 1740.[16] Taking advantage of this invasion Sahuji purcha his freedom and returned to power.

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[13] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.24.

[14] Mallesan, G.B., History of the French in India, Edinburgh, 1909, pp.71-78.

[15] Hussayn Nainar (ed.), Op.cit., p.72.

However, Sahuji did not prove himself an able ruler. 1742 the nobles deposed him and elevated Pratap Singh to pow Deprived of the throne, the prince made entreaties to diffe powers for aid.[17] Ultimately he succeeded with the Britis Charles Floyer, the Governor of Fort St.David, agreed to ex support, in return for the cession of Devakottai, a place of considerable commercial potential.[18] In 1749 Captain Co led an expedition, but it failed.[19] A second expedition to ended in retreat. Thereupon Major Lawrence took only the command and occupied Devakottai from Tanjore.[20] By a settlement with Pratap Singh, the Company retained possession of Devakottai but withdrew their support to Sahuji.[21] This

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16. Ramakrishna Kavi Pandit, Pratapa Sinha Vijaya Prabhanda, Madras, 1950, Preface, p.2.

17. Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.27.

18. Defence of Lord Pigot, London, 1777, p.23.

19. Charles Floyer and Council, 17 April 1749, Fort St.David Consultations, Vol.17, p.99 also Charles Floyer and Coun 26 April 1749, Ibid., Vol.17, p.105.

20. Charles Floyer and Council, 4 July 1749, Ibid., Vol.17, p.188.

21. Charles Floyer and Council, 4 December 1749, Ibid., Vol.17, p.143.

marked the beginning of British influence in the kingdom. Nevertheless the civil war proved detrimental to the interests of the Marathas.

Wallajah Invasion

The period that followed proved quite ominous in the history of Maratha administration. The Wallajahs led by Mohammad Ali and the Nevayets led by Chanda Sahib entered into a deadly conflict for the possession of the Carnatic. The English joined the side of Mohammad Ali, while the French Chanda Sahib. Tanjore was not directly concerned with the war, yet was drawn into the struggle. The aggressions committed by Chanda Sahib and the French, alienated Tanjore.[22] In the meantime as Mohammad Ali established himself at Trichinopoly he gained control of the Kaveri system, which irrigated the fields of the kingdom. Guided by these considerations Pratap Singh allied himself with the Wallajahs.[23]

Between the years 1748 and 1755 the powers fought a series of battles at Trichinopoly, but without gaining any decisive advantage by any. However, the support of Tanjore and Mysore contributed to the ultimate victory of the Wallajahs. Aided by the British and the forces of Tanjore and Mysore, Mohammad Ali defeated and killed Chanda Sahib.[24] Still, this victory did not terminate the hostilities. As Mohammad Ali refused to cede Trichinopoly, as it was promised, Mysore turned against him. Taking advantage of this estrangement,[25] the French won over Mysore and launched an offensive against Trichinopoly. The war dragged on for more than one year, yet the French could gain no victory. Convinced of the futility of military operations, the French withdrew from the unequal war in 1754 and Mysore in 1755.[26] In these conflicts Tanjore fell an easy victim. While the kingdom was required to supply troops and provisions in support of its allies, it was subjected to repeated raids and depredations by the rival powers.

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[22] Rajah Tuljaji, 29 January 1778, Letter to the Court of Directors, **Military Country Correspondence**, Vol.27, pp.81-116.

[23] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.35.

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24. Wilks, M., Historical Sketches of the South of India, Madras, 1869, Part 1, p.177.

25. Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.34.

26. At the end of the war Morari Rao and Dupleix blamed each other. Consequently both the parties withdrew from the war.
    Dodwell, H., The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol.9, Madras, 1922, p.378.

Despite the meritorious services rendered by the Marathas during these wars, Mohammad Ali decided to assert his influence in Tanjore. In fact he found himself free to venture into this, as the rival powers disappeared from the scene and the British extended their support.[27] In 1762 the Nawab sent an expedition and forced Rajah Pratap Singh to accept Wallajah sovereignty and to pay an annual tribute of four lakhs of rupees.[28] A year later Pratap Singh passed away and his son Tuljaji came to power. As the new ruler engaged himself in a campaign against Ramnad and Sivaganga[29] the Nawab decided to coerce Tanjore. Assisted by the British he invaded the kingdom in 1771,[30] exacted a war indemnity of eight lakhs of rupees and annexed Vallam, Arni, Deivanur, Koilody and Elangad.[31] After this victory, Mohammad Ali coveted the possession of the rest of the kingdom too, for he found it essential for promoting his

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27. Mohammad Ali, 30 March 1762, Letter to Lord Pigot, Military Country Correspondence, Vol.10, p.128 (Hereinafter referred to as M.C.C.)

28. Aitchison, C.U., (ed.), A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sannads, etc., Calcutta, 1864, Vol.5, p.264.

29. Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, pp.55-58.

30. Josias Du Pre in Council, 4 November 1771, M.C., Vol.40, p.928.

31. Aitchison, C.U.(ed.), Op.cit., Vol.5, pp.264-266.

own interests. In 1773 the Wallajah forces, supported by the British, stormed the Fort of Tanjore, imprisoned the royal family and annexed the kingdom with the Carnatic.[32] With the Marathas out of power, the Nawab brought his own servants and reorganised the administration with a view to improving the collections.

Growth of British Influence

However, the Wallajah rule over Tanjore did not last long. In 1776 the Court of Directors of the English East India Company disapproved the proceedings of the Madras Council and decided in favour of restoration of the kingdom to the Marathas. Accordingly Lord Pigot, the Governor of Fort St.George, reached Tanjore and reinstated Tuljaji as the rajah.[33] In protest the Nawab removed the revenue records, causing dislocation in the administrative system. However, the Marathas were required to accept a new settlement, marked by restrictions and liabilities. The Company reduced the State into a protectorate,[34] garrisoned the forts and required the rajah to pay twelve lakhs of rupees every year for meeting the expenses of the forces, which were stationed. Also it took possession of Nagore together with 277 villages.[35] The Marathas agreed to render no assistance whatsoever to the enemies of the English and to enter into no relations with other powers without their consent. Thus Tanjore, despite its revival as a kingdom, lost the substance of its independence, both political and economic. As a result the Maratha administration stood discredited before the people. In 1787 Tuljaji passed away.

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[32] Alexander Wynch in Council, 13 August 1773, M.C., Vol.46, p.802. Also Mohammad Ali, Letter to Madras Council, received on 23 January 1776, M.C.C., Vol.25, pp.2-6.

[33] Lord Pigot's Narrative of the Late Revolution in the Government of Madras, Madras, 1776, p.1.

[34] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, pp.75-76.

Before his death Tuljaji invested his adopted son Sarfoji with royal authority and appointed his half-brother Amir Singh as the guardian of the prince.[36] But the British refused to accept this settlement and created a situation favourable for the advancement of their interests. On the basis of a decision obtained from a few pandits, the Madras Council declared the adoption of Sarfoji irregular and elevated Amir Singh to the throne.[37] By a new treaty signed with Amir Singh in 1787 the

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35. Aitchison, C.U. (ed.), Op.cit., Vol.5, Number 47.

36. Tuljaji, 26 January 1787, Letter to Madras Council, M.C.C., Vol.36, p.7.

37. Sir. Archbald Campbell in Council, 6 April 1787, M.C., Vol.119, p.15.

Company tightened its grip over the State and secured the right to assume the revenue administration in the event of a war in South India.[38] Accordingly in 1790, when the Third Mysore War broke out, the British assumed the revenue administration of the kingdom.[39] While this intervention made deep inroads into the authority of the Marathas, it in its turn greatly contributed to the consolidation of British influence. In 1792 the Madras Council restored the administration of revenue to the rajah, but in return he was required to accept another humiliating settlement.

As a next step the British decided to annex Tanjore. They expected to accomplish it with the co-operation of Amir Singh, but the latter refused his consent. Thereupon the Madras Council re-opened the issue of adoption. The pandits who decided against the adoption of Sarfoji, now confessed their folly and upheld the adoption. On receiving the approval of the Court of Directors, it deposed Amir Singh and enthroned Sarfoji.[40] In fact the advent and exit of Amir Singh to and from power substantially contributed to the assertion of British influence in the State.

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[38] The Treaties between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Tanjore etc., Madras, 1859, the Tanjore Treaty of 1787.

[39] William Medows in Council, 24 September 1790, M.C., Vol.139, p.3346.

[40] Lord Hobart in Council, 1 July 1796, Ibid., Vol.208, pp.2719-2770.

In the elevation of Sarfoji to the throne, the Company poised the hope of taking quick possession of Tanjore. Strangely enough within a few days of his accession Sarfoji confessed his inability to carry on the administration, paving the way for a take over.[41] But as the outbreak of a fourth war with Mysore appeared certain, the British wanted to make an alliance with the Marathas of Poona. Hence they postponed the implementation of their decision. In October 1799 after the successful conclusion of war against Mysore, the Company decided to proceed with the annexation. Accordingly on 25th October 1799, the Company settled a treaty.[42] By the terms of this treaty the English took over the administration. The rajah retained possession of the Fort of Tanjore and the right to receive a part of the revenue for his expenses. The British annexation represented the culmination of the trends at work since the European intervention in the Civil War.

The Marathas ruled once Tanjore for a century and a quarter, beginning from 1676 to 1799. The period from 1676 to 1762 was marked by the use and growth of their power. There were invasions from the northern powers particularly the Mughals, the Nevayets and the French, yet the Maratha rulers maintained their independence. The civil wars that were fought between the years 1736 and 1742 weakened the administration, yet there came no major foreign intervention. Since 1762 there followed a marked change. Nawab Mohammad Ali reduced Tanjore into a regular tributary and it was followed by annexation. The developments in the Maratha Empire and the alliance of the British with the Wallajahs contributed to the fall of the Marathas of Tanjore. The Nawab's rule was brief, yet it was of considerable consequence. He introduced his own system of revenue and justice, enhanced the levies and assigned the revenue from vast areas to his creditors. The welfare of the peasants received no adequate consideration, as it was in the past. The British interfered, to restore the possession of the kingdom to the Marathas, but the subsequent developments proved that it was with a view to establishing their own authority.

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[41] Sarfoji, 9 November, complaint to Madras Council, M.C.C., Vol.49, pp.321-328. Also Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.107.

[42] Ibid., pp.108-110.

The Marathas inherited from the Nayaks an established system of administration. The Nayaks and the Marathas were fellow South Indian powers professing Hinduism, their traditions did not considerably vary from each other. Both the powers much relied upon the Brahmins to carry on the administration. These factors favoured stability as well as continuity. Yet it cannot be denied that changes were inevitable, for one set of conquerors replaced another, who made the country their own home. The Marathas too settled in the country yet they retained with them a strong bond of affinity with the fellow Maratha powers in the northern regions. The wars in the Carnatic, raids by the northern powers, contributions raised by the Nevayets and the Wallajahs, loss of territories and the rising influence of the British left their indelible impressions upon the Maratha system of administration.

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

The Central Government of the Marathas of Tanjore consisted of the king called the rajah or *chathrapathi*,[1] a council of ministers known as *aṣṭapradhān*[2] and other functionaries. The administrative system consisted of the palace establishment and a state set up. Twelve departments called *mahals*[3] looked after the palace establishment, while eighteen departments called *khānāhs*[4] managed the general administration. There were *vakīls*[5] to represent the king in other kingdoms. Each administrative department also had a representative called *vakīl* to represent it in the royal court. The different departments functioned under regular rules and regulations.

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[1] *chathrapathi* - *chathram* means a home or house, *pathi* - the head. The Marathas called the head of their tribe *chathrapathi*.

[2] *aṣtapradhān* - A council of eight ministers.

[3] *mahals* - The administrative departments of the palace.

[4] *khānāhs* - Administrative departments of the State.

[5] *vakīl* - A Tamil term means one who advocates or represent. In Tanjore he was a departmental official appointed in various capacities.

The Royal Court

The royal court comprised of the king, the courtiers and other personal attendants of the rajah. Since monarchy had become an accepted institution in Tanjore as in the rest of India the people considered the rajah as the sovereign of the state and looked upon him as the protector of their lives and property, whether he did this duty or not. However, as they were conquerors, they cared more for their personal interests than popular interest.

Lofty walls, with watch towers were erected to protect the palace. The courtiers and the palace attendants lived on both the sides of the street leading to the palace. At the entrance there was a well arranged pavilion used for miscellaneous purposes. The corridors on the two sides of the pavilion were used for tethering muster horses. There was a large hall where the *saṁpritīs*[6] or accountants assembled to write the accounts. A long passage led to the interior of the palace where the king sat on his throne.[7] The throne was a huge mass of black granite eighteen feet long, sixteen feet broad and elevated, three feet above the apartment.[8] Painted pillars and walls added to the splendour and beauty of the royal court.[9]

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[6] The word *saṁpritī* is defined as the head *karnam* or the chief accountant. The head *saṁpritī* was placed in a *māhānum* and below him there were subordinate *karnams* or *saṁpritīs*. In the Vijayanagar Empire also they performed identical duties.
Venkataramanayya, N., *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1935, pp.105-106.
When the Marathas wrested the kingdom from the Nayaks, they adopted it.

The rajah believed in his rights and conducted himself as an autocrat.[10] The rajah called himself 'chathrapathi' which was a traditional title to all kings. Yet he gave importance to learning and patronised art and letters. Ekoji himself was the author of many books. Because of his liberal patronage to art and literature Shahji was called as Bhoja.[11] The ruler maintained internal order and supervised external defence, concluded peace, settled border disputes and conducted negotiations. A treaty or negotiation which did not carry royal seal was invalid.[12] Supervising the mutts, shastric schools, general education, philosophical schools, teaching of Nyaya shastras and the vedas rested on his hands. The construction and repairing of temples and building chatrams or choultries[13] were considered as acts of great merit to the kings.[14] However, it cannot be denied that he appeared much a slave to superstition. The soothsayers and fortune-tellers guided him in his day-to-day work. Rev.Schwartz who gained an

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[7] Venkata Ramanayya, N.,(ed.), Introduction to Ragunatha Bhudayam, pp.6-7.

[8] Vallentia, Travels, Vol.I, p.356.

[9] Venkata Ramanayya, N., (ed.)., Introduction to Ragunatha Bhudayam, pp.6-7.

[10] Andrew Friar, 1682, Letter to Paul Olivia, Vadugarpatti, Sathianathier, R., Tamilaham in the Seventeenth Century, p.287.

[11] Bhoja - King Bhoja was the ruler of Malwa, who resided at Dhar and Ujjain and supposed to have lived between 1040 C and 1490 A.D., in whose court the nine gems flourished. Sridharavenkatesa alias Ayyaval, Raghavan, V.(ed.), Sahendravilasa, Trichy, 1952, p.2.

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12. Governor of Madras, 3 November 1775, Letter to Tuljaji, rajah of Tanjore, M.C.C., Vol.11, pp.196-198.

13. Chatram or choultry is a resting shed for the travellers. They were edifices of one storey constructed of brick and chunam or granite for the convenience of the travellers. The government employed one or two native officers to maintain order among the travellers. Eliza Hoole, Personal Narrative of Missions to the South India, Manchester, 1829, pp.33-34.
The poor, disabled and the destitutes also took asylum in the choultry. In order to treat the sick, the state appointed a native physician. Modi Manuscript preserved in the Tanjore Rajah Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library (Hereinafter referred to as Modi Manuscripts), Vol.7, Bundle 923, Sub-bundle 62.

14. *Ibid*., Vol.I, Bundle 106, Sub-bundle 41.

intimate knowledge about the court life stated, "The king of Tanjore is in the estimation of ignorance, a prince who governs according to the despotic will, but he is in fact more a slave than a king".[15]

The inhabitants looked upon the rajah, as the fountain head of justice. The criminal jurisdiction rested with him.[16] The aggrieved persons could always place a petition before the rajah, for he had the authority to pardon a criminal or reduce the fine or any other punishment awarded to any other individual.[17] He was the highest appellant authority in civil cases also,[18] but he did not exercise these powers, for he deputed either the sirkīl[19] or the dharmādhikāri[20] to deal with such cases. They reviewed cases, granted remission of punishments to the

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15. Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., p.168.

16. William Petrie, 21 December 1791, Letter to Earnest William Fallow Field (Hereinafter referred to as E.W.Fallow Field), Fort St.George, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.2, p.88.

17. Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.347.

18. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.8, Bundle.8, Sub-bundle.1.

19. Sirkīl- one of the members of the astapradhān, the council ministers. Derived from the word 'Sar-i-keel'. Literally it means the head of the tribe. Love, H.D., Vestiges of Old Madras, London, 1913, p.102.

20. dharmādhikāri - Another member of the aṣṭapradhān.

criminals, dismissed petitions or confirmed punishments that were already awarded in the lower court on behalf of the king.[21] For policing the towns and the capital city the king appointed the kotwāls.[22]

Succession

During their rule the Marathas were guided by customs and conventions that were in practice. Yet palace intrigues and absence of natural heirs altered the law of primogeniture. When the king had no legal heirs he adopted a son guided by the principal shastras.[23] In the absence of a natural heir or son, according to the custom of the country, the rajahs were allowed to adopt a child from one of the collateral branches of his house.[24]

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21. Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.347.

22. kotwāl - Police officer in the city. E.W.Fallow Field, 9 December 1791, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.2, p.888. **Infra; pp.212-213.**

23. The shastras deal with religious and civil laws. The principal shastras are the dharmashastras ascribed to Manu, Vishnu, Yajahvalkya and Narada.

24. "whoever has no son neither grand son nor grand son's son may adopt another child for his son. The child which is to be adopted ought to be born one of the seven preceding generations. In those seven generations no child fit to be adopted is found, then one of the seven more remote generations may be chosen and this holds the twenty first generations. But, if in those twenty one generations no child fit to be adopted then the son of the daughter or sister or aunt may be chosen provided it be of their own Kshatria caste".
Letter to the right Hon.Lord Hobart, Governor-in-council from Macleod, M.C., Vol.208, pp.2729-2730.

Taking guidance from the civil and religious institutions, they legalised the principle of adoption and confirmed the adoption in consultation with the principal shastras[25] and announced the adoption to the public.[26] King Tuljaji had no legal heirs. He adopted a male child and made him the legal heir to the throne who later became Sarfoji II.[27]

Succession to the throne was on hereditary lines. In the absence of a natural or legal heir, the younger brother or the near ones of the deceased succeeded to the throne. Shaji died in 1712 without a heir and hence his brother Sarfoji I (1712-1728) ascended the throne.[28] When Sarfoji II the adopted son of Tuljaji came to the throne at an early age the king requested Reverend Schwartz to be the guardian of Sarfoji II, but Schwartz suggested Ramaswami alias Amir Singh to be the guardian of Sarfoji.[29] In times of trouble or delayed succession, the four important ministers, namely the pradhāni[30] or the principal minister, the dalavoy,[31] the sirkīl[32] and the diwān formed an interim government but it dissolved itself after the selection of a new ruler.[33] When there was no heir in the male line, a princess was permitted to succeed to the throne. Bava Sahib alias Tukkoji II died within a short time of his accession to the throne. As there was no heir in the male line his widow Sujana Bai rose to power with the help of Seid Khan, the commandant of the fort, but she ruled only for a short time.[34] Dual sovereignity was unknown in the Maratha kingdom.[35] Palace intrigue was common and interested parties invited foreigners to intervene on their behalf. During the reign of Sahuji a pretender called Siddoji gained the support of Seid Khan and seized the throne. This development led to the intervention of the French in the Tanjore politics for territorial gain.[36] At times the nobles intervened and regulated the working of the principle of succession. In 1742 the principal inhabitants of Tanjore deposed the king Sahuji and elevated Pratap Singh to the throne.[37]

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[25] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.84.

[26] Macleod, 8 February 1787, Letter to Archbald Campbell, M.C., Vol.115, pp.318-319.

[27] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, p.83.

[28] Ibid., pp.13-14.

[29] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.55.

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[30] Pradhāni - Chief Minister.

[31] Dalavoy - He was a Commander-in-chief of the Army in the previous set up. The Marathas also retained the same.

[32] Love, H.D., Op.cit., p.102.

[33] Macleod, 8 February 1787, Letter to Hon.Sir Archbald Campbell, M.C., Vol.115, pp.318-319.

[34] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, pp.23-24.

[35] Dual Sovereignity was not in practice in South India during this period. There were only pretenders to the throne. Robert Sewell, in his Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.291, states that Sarfoji and Tukkoji of the Maratha Country ruled together. But K. Rajayyan in his A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore states that after the death of Shahji in 1712, his brother Tukkoji came to power. Srinivasan, C.K., in his Maratha Rule in the Carnatic also made no mention about this dual sovereignity in Tanjore Maratha kingdom.

Coronation

Coronation was an important ceremony in the state. It gave the prince the legal title and right to rule the country. On the day of coronation the prince took bath in the holy water, while the purōhita recited the mantrās.[38] The captains of the army, the officials of the darbar[39] and the nobles of the state joined in giving a ceremonial bath to the prince. Thereupon, the king designate wore costly costumes and ornaments.[40]

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[36] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, pp.23-24.

[37] Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.20.

[38] Mahalingam, T.V., **South Indian Polity**, Madras, 1967, p.39.

[39] Darbar - means the court where the king sat for the transactions of the state business.

[40] Vedanayakam Shastri, Bethlehem Kuravanchi, Madras, 1964, p.334.
Also Murray Mitchel, In Southern India, London, 1885, p.92.

Then the pradhāni, the dalavoy, the sirkīl and the diwān took him to the palace and from there to the darbar hall.[41] The purōhit or the chief priest gave his oration and blessings. The purōhit blessed him as follows: "Your regime may be long and prosperous, that your conduct may be marked with wisdom and liberality towards all mankind, that your subject may be industrious and faithfully be enabled by the kind and fostering hands of their virtuous prince, rest in peace and affluence under the refreshing shade of your auspicious government".[42] Also he advised the ruler to take a kind and fatherly interest in the welfare and happiness of the people and to give them peace and security. The king sat on the masund[43] and received the royal insignia the crown, royal dress, an elephant and a horse. Thereupon he took a long sword to show that he was the leader of the army and a determined fighter.[44] The court and the army gave a royal salute.[45] The king's personal attendants like the shoe-bearers and the holders of chamaram came and attended on the person of the prince.[46] The king gave presents of rich shawls, embroidered turbans, costly garments and several ornaments to the learned men. On the day of his assumption of office, he enhanced the salaries of the officers, conferred titles of honours on his ministers and other officials of the state.[47] He donated a large number of villages to the Brahmins.[48] After the ceremony the rajah with his principal officers gave audience to the people.[49] During the coronation ceremony the prince promised, to safeguard the interest of the people, but after coronation he seldom gave consideration for his words. On the other hand he spent most of his time on official intrigues. Shahji was the only example of a king with a sense of duty. He reorganised the departments to give better administration to the people. Also he encouraged scholars and patronised learning.

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[41] Inspection Committee Report, (Huddleston Macleod, Col.Stuart, Hippiseley and Frederic Schwartz) no date, M.C., Vol.115,p.314.

[42] A Journal of Tanjore Proceedings (no date)**Ibid.**, Vol.119, pp.44-45.

[43] Masund - throne.

[44] Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., stanza 8.

[45] A Journal of Tanjore Proceedings (no date), M.C., Vol.119, p.45.

[46] Mahalingam, T.V., Op.cit., p.61.

The Aṣṭapradhān

As in the Kankan, a royal council known as *aṣṭapradhān* assisted the king in discharging his day-to-day affairs. In Tanjore the nomenclatures of the members of the *aṣṭapradhān* were not identical with those at Poona. As to win the confidence of the people they maintained and used the terms which were already in use and terms which were vogue in Tanjore especially in the Carnatic. The *aṣṭapradhān* of Poona composed of the *peshwā* or the *mukyapradhān*, the *majumdār* or the *amātyā* or the accountant, the *waqianawis* or the recorder of the king and the court, the *surnis* or the *sachive* or the home secretary, the *sumant* or the external affairs minister, the *sēnāpathi* or the commander-in-chief, the *paṇḍit* or the royal priest and *nyāyādish* or the chief justice.[50] In Tanjore the *aṣṭapradhān* consisted of the *pradhāni*[51] or the principal minister, the *sirkīl* or the chamberlin of the royal household, the *diwān* or the finance minister, the *daḷavoy* or the commander-in-chief, the *rāyasam*[52] or the chief secretary, the *dharmādhikāri* or minister for law and charity, the *saṁprīti* or the chief accountant and the *purōhit* or the chief priest.[53] Eventhough the Marathas used terms which were in vogue in the Carnatic some of the members exercised the same powers as that of their counterparts in the *aṣṭapradhān* of Poona except one or two *pradhānis*. The *samprīti* did the work of the *majuṁdār*, the *rayasam* occupied the place of the *waquia nāwis* and the *sirkīl* exercised the powers of *surnis* or *sachive*. In Tanjore they did not create an external affairs minister's post. Instead, the *pradhāni*, the *daḷavoy*[54] and the *vakīl* exercised the powers of the same. At the beginning of their rule, the Marathas did not create the post of chief justice, but the credit goes to Pratap Singh who set up a judicial court and appointed a chief justice.

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[47] Ramakrishna Kavi, *Op.cit.*, Stanza, 27.

[48] *Ibid.*, Stanza, 28.

[49] A journal of the Tanjore proceedings with respect of succession, 1789, M.C., Vol.119, p.47.

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[50] Sen, S.N., *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1935, pp.39-51.
Also James Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1918, p.363.

[51] *Pradhāni* - A Sanskrit word means important or chief. The term *pradhani* was in vogue in the erstwhile Nayak and Marava kingdoms. The Marathas also used this term.

[52] *Rāyasam* - He was the chief secretary of the state. In the previous administration also he held the same position.

The members of the *aṣṭapradhān* headed different departments of the state and were held responsible for the efficient discharge of the duties assigned to them. The *pradhānis* were noted for their scholarship. Elevation to the post of a minister depended upon the merit and intelligence of the person. In some cases hereditary succession to this office was allowed. Kakoji alias Gangadhara Devarin acted as a *pradhāni* in the *aṣṭapradhān* of Ekoji. After his death his son Narasimha Raya succeeded him. This family had representation in the *aṣṭapradhān* till the time of Sarfoji II. Some of the ministers who hailed from this family were noted for their Sanskrit scholarship and *Vedic-dharma*.[55]

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[53] Baliga, B.S., *Tanjore District Hand Book*, p.50.

[54] Saunders, Governor of Madras, 14 August 1758, Letter to the King of Tanjore and Manoji, the Maratha Commandant, M.C.C., Vol.7, pp.115-116.

The principal minister was the most important member of the *aṣṭapradhān*. In the later period he was called the *peshwā*.[56] Sometimes the office of the *daḷavoy* was coupled with that of the *pradhāni* and he exercised civil and military authority. King Shahji's principal minister Balaji enjoyed these two offices.[57] The offices of the *pradhāni* and the *sirkīl* were combined in the hands of one person during the time of Tuljaji. His minister Bava Sahib assumed these two posts. From that time onwards the principal minister was called the *sirkīl*.[58]

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[55] Rāghavan, V.,(ed.), *Introduction to Sahendra Vilasa*, pp.22-27.

[56] Dodwell,(ed), *Ananda Ranga Pillai Diary*, Vol.I, p.50.

[57] Srinivasan, C.K., *Op.cit.*, pp.347-349.

[58] Hugh Pearson, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.102.

The twelve mahals and the eighteen khānās were under his control.[59] Usually the rajahs selected Brahmins born in wealthy and influential families to this post because they believed that the Brahmins were better educated and more pious. Occasionally the relatives of high functionaries in the state also occupied this post, provided they had mild temper, sober habits, accessibility and patience.[60] The principal minister was responsible for the general administration of the kingdom. The work connected with the palace rested in his hands.[61] Important papers pertaining to administrative matters received the counter-signature of the sirkīl before they were presented for the royal assent.[62] In political matters he dictated the correspondence, to be despatched to the other rulers. His guidance was sought to settle disputes between the princes and their wives. The principal minister together with the diwān controlled the finances of the state, the revenue collections,

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59. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.,(ed.), Shelvankar, R.S., A Report on the Modi scripts in the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Madras, 1935, p.7. (hereinafter referred to as Shelvankar Report).

60. Hickey, W., Op.cit., p.42.

61. The Epigraphica Indica, Vol.XXI, Calcutta, (no date), p.192.

62. Shelvankar Report, p.8.

the officers of the customs department, the educational institutions of the state and the public works department. He always had a hand in the judicial administration too.[63]

The *pradhāni*'s official establishment comprised of the *majumdār*, the *sampriti*, the *chitnis*, the *rāyasam*, the *potnis*, the *daftari*, the *karkānis* and the *hircārā*. The *majumdār* or the auditor general of accounts had a counterpart called the *sampriti* to write the accounts in Tamil language. Similarly the *chitnis* otherwise known as the correspondence clerk was assisted by his Tamil counterpart the *rāyasam* who communicated the official matters to the local sub-division officers in Tamil. While the *potnis* was in-charge of the cash of the state, the *daftari*, the *karkānis* and the *hircārā* acted as record-keeper, commissary and the keeper of attendance register respectively. The *musalagee*, the lowest in the hierarchy of state servants was the torch-bearer of the office.[64]

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[63] Hickey, W., *Op.cit.*, p.44.
Also Hugh Pearson, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, pp.171-185.

[64] E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Letter to William Petrie, the Resident, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.I, p.60.

Next to the pradhāni and the sirkīl stood the diwān or the finance minister. The position of the diwān was a promotion from the subēdārs[65] of the subāh.[66] This rule did not apply to all the subēdārs of the subāhs. Subēdār Rago Pandit was elevated to the position of the diwān by king Sarfoji I. During the reign of Tuljaji, Bava Pandit filled this office.[67] He was called the dabīr pandit. He dealt with the revenue collection and policy matters.[68] He also made annual settlement of land revenue, gave villages in lease, advanced money to the cultivators as taccavi loans for the purchase of bullocks and digging of wells. The renting of the customs, collection of revenue from salt pans and sugar mills and taxes from the mints and the quarries formed part of his duties.[69] His official establishment was the same as that of the pradhāni.

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[65] Subramrnian, K.R., Op.cit., pp.78-79.

[66] Subāh - A province.

[67] Subramonian, K.R., Op.cit., pp.78-79.

[68] Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.439.

[69] Hickey, W., Op.cit., pp.44-45.

The *daḷavoy* was the commander-in-chief of the army. Virtually the *daḷavoy's* word was final in ending a war or prolonging it. Occasionally he controlled the foreign policy also.[70] In concluding peace or conducting important negotiations the *daḷavoy* always had a say.[71] But whatever was the merit of the *daḷavoy*, if the king suspected him of infidelity, he was dismissed without any enquiry. In the year 1753 the Marathas won a victory over the French. The French in a bid to get rid off Manoji, the commander of the forces bribed Sukkoji, the *pradhāni* of Pratap Singh. As a result Sukkoji poisoned the mind of the king and he dismissed Manoji from office.[72] The office of the *daḷavoy* consisted of the *bakshi* or the paymaster general,[73] the *vakīl*, the assistant of the

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[70] Saunders, Governor of Madras, 28 September 1755, Letter to Manoji, M.C.C., Vol.31, p.132. Also Manoji, the Maratha Commander, 13 February 1757, Letter to the Governor of Madras, *Ibid.*, Vol.5, pp.55-59.

[71] Saunders, Governor of Madras, 14 August 1758, Letter to the King of Tanjore and Manoji, *Ibid.*, Vol.7, pp.115-116.

[72] Subramonian, K.R., *Op.cit.*, p.78.

[73] An intelligence paper from the Nabob, 11 February 1771, to Josias Du Pre, M.C., Vol.41, p.41.

daḷavoy in all his dealings with foreign courts and an official establishment. The rest of the establishment was the same as that of other ministers.

The *purōhit* occupied an important place in the *aṣṭapradhān*. He acted as the preceptor to the king for he inculcated religious principles to the princes. Associated with all the social and religious functions of the state, he was the chief priest of the state. The religious tolerance or intolerance depended upon the attitude of the *purōhit*. He was responsible for fixing up the date and time of the coronation ceremony. During the coronation ceremony he accompanied the king to the temple and took part in the religious ceremony. The *purōhit* and his men accompanied the king to instil their ideas and to prevent other religious leaders from having any conversation.[74] In times of war, the *purōhit* accompanied the king to the battlefield,[75] and shared the fortunes as well as the misfortunes.

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[74] Jesse Page, *Schwartz of Tanjore*, New York, 1921, p.4. Also *Journal of Tanjore Proceedings*, M.C., Vol.119, pp.44-45.

[75] Broughton, T.D., *Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, Vol.IV, London, 1892, pp.21-22.

The *dharmādhikāri* was the minister for charity. The law and religious endowments were under his management. Normally a *subēdār* was elevated first to this post and on successful management of this office, he was elevated to the post of *sirkīl* and then to the post of the *diwān*.[76] When the judicial department became defunct, he dispensed with the justice too.[77] In the later days of the Maratha rule, the office of *dharmādhikāri* was clubbed with that of the *purōhit* and the judicial authority was entrusted with a judge.[78] The *rāyasam* was the chief secretary corresponding to the Cōlā *thirumanthira olai*.[79] He acted as the personal assistant to the king, for he brought all the important business to the notice of the rajah. He took instructions from the king, wrote down the oral orders and transmitted them to *sirkīl*.[80]

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[76] Subramonian, K.R., *Op.cit.*, p.78.

[77] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.I, Bundle.18.

[78] Baliga, B.S., *Tanjore District Hand Book*, p.91.

[79] *Thirumanthira olai* - He was the chief secretary of the Cōlā kings. He performed the identical services as the *rāyasam*.

[80] Subramonian, K.R., *Op.cit.*, pp.78-79.

The *aṭṭhavanā* was the head of the department of taxation.[81] He was the head *samprīti* or accountant of the state. Below him, there were *peshcārs*, or revenue collector, subordinate *samprītis* and *karnams*,[82] or village accountants. The *saṁprīti* kept a register for all the districts and a detailed account for every item of revenue and cultivation.[83] In order to represent the matters of different departments, a *vakīl* was attached to each minister. Usually, the kings selected honest, sensible and prudent persons to this post.[84] The *vakīls* acted deputy to the minister[85] and as an ambassador to the foreign courts.[86] He received foreigners and envoys from other countries too.[87] During the war, he reported to his master about the movements of soldiers, carried rich presents to bribe and to win support of commanders of forces in other states in case of impending danger.[88] Also he maintained diplomatic relations with other states on behalf of the king. Occasionally the vakīls dealt with social and financial matters also.[89] He attended the trivial matters like the leakage of the tanks, embankment of the rivers and construction of roads across the borders.[90] As the vakīl wanted to retain the good will of the king, he represented generally what was agreeable to his master and avoided whatsoever the king disliked.[91] Whatever was the merit of the service of the vakīls, if the rajah suspected the vakīls of any foul play he dismissed them from office.[92] Even this punishment did not always prevent them from false representation and foul play.

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[81] Govinda Rasanar Pulavar, (ed.), *Sendalankharan Viraliyidu Thuthu*,. Tanjore, 1969, p.4.

[82] Andrew Ram, and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.I, p.60.

[83] Edward C.Greenway, Secretary to Government, 14 September 1805, Letter to Fort St.George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.2, p.1010.

[84] Tuljaji, Letter to the Governor Fort St.George, received 12 May 1770, M.C.C., Vol.18, pp.115-116.

[85] Col.Fullorton, 7 January 1785, address to the Court of Directors, Military Sundries, Vol.66, p.71. Also Fullorton, *A View of English Interest in India*, London, 1788, p.134.

[86] Bultoji, Letter to Mr.William, Fort St.George (no date), M.C.C., Vol.40, p.118.

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87. Evan Bell, The Empire in India, London, 1864, p.73.

88. Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.52, See also M.C., Vol.1, p.159.

89. Tuljaji, King of Tanjore, 6 July 1767, Letter to the Governor, M.C.C., Vol.15, pp.178-179.

90. Pratap Singh, 6 September 1767, Letter to the Nawab, Ibid., Vol.15, p.257.

91. Tuljaji, king of Tanjore, 6 September 1767, Letter to the Nawab of the Carnatic, Ibid., Vol.15, p.257.

92. Tuljaji, 18 October 1770, Letter to Governor, Fort St.George, Ibid., Vol.18, pp.112-113.

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The Mahals and the Khānāhs

In order to maintain the civil administration of the state, the rajahs created twelve administrative departments called the *mahals* for the palace establishment and eighteen state departments called the *khānāhs* for the state administration. In this respect the Marathas combined the Mughal and Konkan systems. In the Konkan system, there were twelve *mahals*, which were as follows.

Pōtē-mahal - maintained the treasury,

Sandagīr-mahal - looked after the merchandise,

Pālki-mahal - took care of palanquins and the articles for their making and repairing,

Koṭhi-mahal - served as a warehouse, for granaries,

Imarat-mahal - supervised the construction of buildings and their maintenance,

Pāgā-mahal - was the stable,

Sēri-mahal - attended to the comforts of the public in general,

Durāni-mahal - was the *zenāna* or harem,

Thaṭṭi-mahal - maintained the cows of the palace,

Thankasāl - was the mint where coins were minted,

Sabina-mahāl - also was an office where palace guards took rest and finally the

Bahili-mahal - was the place where the state coaches and chariots were kept and maintained.

For the sake of administrative convenience the Marathas of Konkan, maintained eighteen state departments, which were:

kajānā , jawahirkhānāh, ambarkhānāh, sharbat-khānāh, topu-khānāh, daftar-khānāh looked after and maintained cash, jewellery, granary, medicines and drinks, artillery and record office respectively. The departments attending the public treasury, grain procurement and disbursement, kitchen, bind and gymnasium were called jamadarkhānāh, jirāt-khānāh, mutbak-khānāh, usthar-khānāh and talīm-khānāh respectively. The other departments or khānāhs were pilākhānāh which served as the elephant shed, falas-khānāh or a store house for carpets, tents and accessories, abdarkhānāh where various drinks were prepared and kept, dara-khānāh where military ammunitions were stored and preserved, naiar-khānāh supervising the bonds or agreements relating to money. Game, aviary, chase materials needed for hunting and allied subjects were in the custody of shikār-khānāh. Finally the conservancy work was entrusted with the shējat-khānāh.[93]

Akin to this arrangement, the Maratha rajahs of Tanjore organised their mahals and khānāhs too.

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[93] Sen, S.N., Op.cit., pp.60-61.

Following the Konkan system, these kings also called their treasury, granary, stable, cow-shed, palanquin, chariots and coin-minting departments as forming what was called *potha-mahal*, *kōṭi-mahal*, *pāga-mahal*, *thaṭṭi-mahal*, *pālki-mahal*, *bahili-mahal*, and *ṭankasal*. These *mahals* not only attended to their work but also stored and maintained them.

The dresses for the royal household servants were made by the *dharagi-mahal*, which was absent in the Konkan system. The food for the royalty and their servants was prepared by the *mudaback-mahal*, which was also not akin to the Konkan system. The lands belonging to the royal household and their agricultural operations were looked after by the *emārthi* or *marāmat-mahal*. The storing of grains, other than paddy was entrusted with the *adhē-mahal*. Lastly the sanitation work of the capital city including the royal palace and other miscellaneous work, not attended to by any of the other departments were placed in charge of *manath-mahal* or *dhāsthān mahal*.

In order to look after the state duties, the Marathas maintained eighteen state departments called the *khānāhs* . Some of the *khānāhs* were their own innovation. *Jhamthar-khānāh* was the treasury, wherein money was received from the public in various forms. The jewellery was under the care of *Jhargarkhānāh*. The *sharbath-khānāh* preserved and supplied drinks and medicines for the public including the military and for the animals. Distillation of alcohol and the supply of it for sale was also under the care of *sherab--khānāh*. *Girath-khānāh* made and stored war weapons like sword, daggers and poniard. State elephants were in *filkhānāh*. The *khānāh*, which stitched military and ordinary clothes was called *dasthakhānāh*. *Shikarkhānāh* looked after the preservation of forests. Articles used for making and repairing boats and other allied things were with the *lankar-khānāh.* Water transportation, construction of watersheds, and attending to the needs of various irrigation projects were with the *aptharkhānāh*. Recruiting candidates for state military, giving them necessary training and also teaching them martial arts were the duties of *thalim-khānāh*. The *dafterkhānāh* was the record office, receiving and maintaining records both public and private like records from lower public authorities. The *tōpu-khānāh* was the store-house for guns and gun-powder. State gardens were maintained by *sathkhānāh*. The *thavakhānāh* was another department which looked after the sanitation of the kingdom. The state procured and stored paddy and other grains in the *ambarkhānāh*. The state's taxation department was called the *dasthakhānāh*. It levied and collected taxes from the inhabitants. The barash-khānāh took care of the arrangements required for the camping of various state officials.[94]

The mahals and the khānāhs were under the control of the sirkīl who was the head of the civil services of the state. Each mahal was under a superintendent called the dimati,[95] who administered the mahals with a body of representative officials from all the mahals called the sabāh.[96] An officer called the karbāri supervised the work of the sabāhs. The nishinde was the accountant, who wrote in Marathi and his counterpart the saṁprīti wrote the accounts in Tamil. The harkoon maintained the stores.[97] There were writers too, to assist the superior officers in discharging their work efficiently. The record room called dafter-khānāh was under the head of the daftari.[98] The head daftar kept a detailed account of the circar's revenue, actual collections and arrears to be collected. He sent his reports to the rajah every now and then for his review.[99]

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[94] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.7, Bundle.293, Sub-Bundle.47.

[95] Shelvankar Report, p.7.

[96] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.7, Bundle.75, Sub-bundle. A.

[97] Ibid., Vol.9, Bundle, 291.

[98] Daftar - Record; Daftari - Record-keeper.

As far as the *mahals* and the *khānāhs* were concerned the Marathas followed a system calculated to serve their interests. These were curious combinations of the traditions of the Mughals and the Marathas of Poona and their own. In respect of the *mahals*, the Marathas dropped some of them which were of Poona pattern and created new ones to satisfy their needs. Thus they dropped the *sabinā* or shed for the guards, *sandagir* for the merchandise, and the *serimahal* looking after the comforts of the palace dwellers. In their place they created the *adhemahal* to store grains other than paddy, the *marāmat-mahal* to look after the agriculture and the *dhasthān-mahal* to check sanitation and other needs. Later on the *nyayacimahal* was created to administer justice. As far the *khānāhs* are concerned they were guided by Muslim practice also. The *sharbath-khānāh thalim khānāh*, *duftar-khānāh* and *amber khānāh* were of the Mughal origin. So in this respect also they did not follow purely the Maratha pattern.

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[99] *Shelvankar Report*, pp.9-10.

It is also to be noted that the Tanjore kings created three new khānāhs, namely apthar-khānāh , lankar-khānāh and dasthā-khānāh which did not find a place in the Konkan system. The unexpected changes in the ruling monarchs, the palace intrigues, frequent wars and the consequent devastation of the country and Mohammad Ali's occupation of Tanjore, consequent destruction and dislocation of the administrative set up disrupted the smooth functioning of the mahals and the khānāhs. But before strengthening them the question of adoption during Amir Singh's administration and the take over of the kingdom by the British came.

Transaction of work

The central secretariat and the rajah had different time schedules in the transaction of work. The method of working of the secretariat was also different from that of the rajahs. The secretariat in the office was kept open daily between 10 a.m. a 8 p.m.[100] All the employees of the mahals should be present before the hircārā, who checked the attendance register. Failure to turn up for duty resulted in the forfeiture of the salary for the day. The names of the sick should be marked in the attendance register.[101] No one could absent himself in anticipation of leave being granted. When certain servants were granted leave substitutes were appointed during the period of their absence.[102]

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[100] Ibid., p.7.

The day's work began with the reading of the accounts by the nishinde to the karbār or the superintendent[103] of the department. There were different sabāhs in each department to carry on the administrative works. The officers of the departments should complete the work assigned to them on the day itself.[104] They were permitted to leave the office only after the sirkīl left.[105] During dharnā and palace revolutions if any palace official was prevented from attending their duties, information to that effect should be conveyed to the palace.[106]

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[101] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.5, Bundle 291.

[102] Shelvankar Report, p.8.

[103] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.5, Bundle 291.

[104] Ibid., Vol.3, Bundle 104, Sub-bundle.2.

[105] Shelvankar Report, p.8.

[106] Tanjore District Records, 1 January to 30 June 1808, Vol.3262, p.209.

In the case of the rajah the order of work was as follows: It began in the morning with the performing of religious rites and ceremonies with a gift of a cow or some other charity to a Brahmin.[107] He went to the temple, with his retinue[108] and attended to the recital of the Vedas and performed worship. On his return to the palace, his personal physician attended on him. In the meantime the *baṁkā-nāyaka*, the personal body-guard of the king received the visitors of the palace.[109] If the visitor was a state dignitary like the minister, the *baṁkā-nāyakā* sent word through the *khāwā* or the personal attender of the king. After disposing of the physician, the rajah permitted any minister who awaited to see the rajah and transacted the business for which the minister awaited. After the departure of the minister, he allowed the astrologers and poets with the Sanskrit verses of their own composition. In the presence of the king, they held discussions and debates and at times received rewards. Then the king sat for the breakfast.

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[107] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol. p.70.

[108] Declaration of Rahmad Khan, 22 July 1790, Military Sundries, Vol.78, p.198.

[109] *Shelvankar Report*, p.8.

After the breakfast he permitted the heads of various departments to meet him for discussion. At the sound of the temple bell he worshipped Lord Somesvara and then had his lunch. After a nap, the king rose from the bed by 4 p.m. and attended to sundry matters. In the evening he usually issued orders, relating to maintenance of the horses, elephants and carriages. At times he watched the wrestling bouts of the wrestlers. Within an hour of night fall, he performed the evening prayer.[110] The king transacted greater part of the state business during the night. All ministers and principal officers came to the palace and sat in a separate building. In the hall of audience, the *pradhāni* occupied the first seat, followed by the *sirkīl*, the *dalavoy*, *dharmādhikāri*, the *diwan* the *rāyasam*, the *saṁprīti*, and the *purōhit*. The *vakīls* of different departments and the officer-in-charge of the intelligence department also attended the meeting. The king sat on the throne facing the court. His servants sat at his feet on both the sides.[111] They presented the papers for royal endorsement and sought orders for their departments.

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[110] Hickey, W., *Op.cit.*, p.40.

[111] Murray Mitchel, *In Southern India*, London, 1885, pp.99-100.

Foreigners who came either for opening a commercial agency or taking lands on lease or for an employment met the king during this time. After disposing them, the king had private discussions and counsel with the ministers on important matters for about an hour or even more. New appointments to the state service took place during this time. When the state business was over, musicians and dancing women entertained the king. After the entertainments the king sat for his supper. When the supper was over, the kissāwālā or the narrator of tales amused the king with stories in an eloquent and humorous manner. Thus ended the programme of the king for the day.

The king reviewed the arms and ammunitions once a week. Occasionally he went for hunting in the palace estate.[112] He met the political agents once or twice a week. This meeting was strictly private, for the ministers did not participate in this meeting.[113] While receiving the political agents for any negotiation or discussion the king came under an yellow umbrella[114] to show his friendly nature. If any misfortune be fell upon the royal family the king did not transact public business[115] and he retired to a garden near river Kaveri.[116]

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[112] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.23, Bundle.19, Sub-bundle.8. Hickey, W., Op.cit., pp.40-42.

[113] Ibid., pp. 40-42

[114] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.2, p.169.

The kings implemented,defined and accepted principles in a scientific manner. While they strictly adopted the law of primogeniture for succession to the kingship, they followed shastric principles for adoption. But during times of war and internal revolutions this was not strictly adhered to. In trying to fit in the Konkan and the Muslim principles with the existing Nayak principles the government incurred huge expenses. The creation of the administrative departments called the mahals and the khānāhs were an addition to the Maratha administration in Tanjore. Enormous increase in the number of departments led to a similar increase both in establishment and maintenance charges.

While the functions of the state servants were defined, there was no clear cut demarcation of powers between different departments. Moreover, the appointment of a large number of

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115. From the Resident at Tanjore, 19 October 1785, Letter to Alexander Davids, President and Governor-in-council, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3445, p.506.

116. Rajah of Tanjore, 7 December 1792, Letter to Sir Charles Oakeley, Governor, M.C.C., Vol.43, p.480.

administrative staff during the period of political turmoil and economic crisis had a paralysing effect on the administration. The involvement of the kings in constant wars let loose the officials to have a free hand in administration. The absence of strict central control over the local officials resulted in corruption at all levels. This was in direct contrast with the Nayak administration, where the central control was intact and the officials could not escape surveillence of the king. Whereas the Nayak administration which traced its pattern on the lines of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Marathas took as their model the Konkan, the Muslim and the Nayak forms, which paved the way for a corrupt form of Government.

CHAPTER III

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

In order to maintain efficiency in administration the Marathas divided the country into distinct units called the *subāhs*, *sīmais* or *māhāṇams*, *vaṭṭams* and *grāmas*. The old territorial administrative units like the *maṇḍalams*, *nāḍus* and *kutrams* became defunct. A responsible officer was placed in charge of **each** sub-division. The *subēdar*[1] managed the affairs of the *subāh*, the *amuldār*, the *māhāṇam*, the *monigār* the *vaṭṭam* and the *patēl* and the *karṇam* a village.

The Subāhs

When the Marathas established their authority in Tanjore they divided the whole kingdom into five *subāhs* - Pattukkottai, Mannargudi, Mayavaram, Kumbakonam and Trivadi.[2] The *subēdār* was the official representative of the king and the head of the subāh.[3] He maintained peace and order in the subāh. The subēdār exercised judicial authority too for he appointed panchayats for the disposal of suits and also heard cases that came to him.[4] Whenever there came any difference of opinion between the people and the administration due to oppressive taxation or injustice he stood as a mediator in between and settled the issues and restored normalcy.[5]

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[1] *Subēdār* - The term *subēdār* is derived from the Arabic word '*sub*' which means a *direction*. During the early times, a large kingdom was divided into northern, eastern and western provinces. It was more convenient to the kings to name a viceroyalty as northern and southern *subāhs.* The administrator of the *subāh* was a *subēdār*.

Jadunatha Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 3rd edition, Calcutta, 1935, p.38.

[2] Archbald Campbell, 10 April 1787, Letter to the rajah of Tanjore, M.C., Vol.119, p.76.

As the chief administrator of the subāh, he was incharge of the collection of revenue. He made known to the people of the regulations regarding new taxes,[6] gave necessary direction to his subordinate the karbār, who was the superintending amuldār about the collection of revenue,[7] issued orders to arrest the defaulters and imprison them.[8] He also exercised supervisory authority over the armed peons called *sibbandis* who were attached to each office called *kachēri* or *chāvaḍi* which was incharge of the collection of revenue.[9] As he exercised *marāmat* duties the agricultural operation of the *subāh* came under his direct control.[10] During rainy season he directed the village servants called the *veṭṭiyāns* to collect the people by the beat of drums and to remove the mud and any other obstruction to the channels to let out the excess water flooded during rainy season in the lakes and tanks. After the rain ceased, he took care to close the sluices to preserve water for the future use.[11] If the crop was destroyed due to movement of the army or any natural calamity, he directed the *amuldārs* of his *subāh* to prepare a list of cultivators who sustained loss and arranged for payment of compensation.[12] During the time of *takāvi* loans he prepared a list with the *hircārās* specifying the name of the individuals who stood in immediate need.[13]

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[3] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.39.

[4] Baliga, B.S., Handbook of Tanjore District, p.90.

[5] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.127.

[6] Rajayyan, K., South Indian Rebellion (The First War of Independence) 1800 - 1801, Mysore, 1974, p.24.

[7] Baliga, B.S., Handbook of Tanjore District, p.90.

[8] Subramonian, K.R., Op.cit., p.80.

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[9] Charles Harris' Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.16.

[10] Commission for the Revision of the Judicial System 14 to 15 July 1815, p.1008.

[11] Bandala Ramaswami Naidu, *Memoirs on the Internal Revenue Administration*, Madras, 1908, p.97.

[12] Charles Harris, 9 June 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Member of the Board of Revenue, Tanjore district Records, Vol.3200, pp.355-356.

[13] Diary and proceedings of the Collectorate of Mayavaram Division, Vol.3254, p.24.

The *subēdār* exercised the powers and functions of a military governor too. During the war time he contributed to the state, a quota of soldiers and took part in the war. During the normal time, he recruited soldiers and selected war horses for training.[14] A *subēdār* took meticulous care in discharging his duties efficiently, for he stood a chance of promotion as a minister in the *aṣṭapradhān* on the basis of merit.

In discharging his duties the *subēdār* received the assistance of *karbār* who was essentially the head of the *amuldārs* of the *māhāṇams*.[15] A Maratha accountant called as *dastrum* or *shrēshṭadār* assisted the *subēdār* and his subordinate the *karbār* in the maintenance of accounts. The *shrēshṭadār* kept details of all accounts and every item of revenue in the Marathi language.[16] He interviewed candidates, who came for appointment in the revenue department. Considering their previous experience and conduct he selected the youngest of all the candidates interviewed[17] with a view of avoiding delinquency and dishonesty in administration. As the original accounts were written in Marathi, the government appointed a Tamil counterpart called *saṁprīti*,[18] with whom the people had contact.[19] The writers called *punnis* or *sarkomastās* wrote letters to subdivision officers pertaining to local administration. In order to read and write the accounts in Tamil language a *rāyasam* was appointed as the counterpart to the *punnis*. The examiner of the accounts called *mapurnis* checked the accounts regularly. The *āvardhanis* maintained the accounts of the *sibbandi* peons.

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[14] Thomas Perkinson Hockney, 4 July 1785, Letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Military Sundries, Vol.65, p.13.
Also Intelligent Paper from the Nawab, 11 February 1771, to Josias Du Pre, M.C., Vol.41, pp.41-42.

[15] E.W.Fallow Field, 15 September 1791, Letter to Fort St. George, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.2, p.694.
Also Muthiah Pillai, Subedar, 14 November 1785, Letter to E.W.Fallow Field, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3443, pp.815-816.

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16. Commission for the Revision of the Judicial System, 14 to 15 July 1815, pp.1007-1008.

17. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.1, Bundle .105, Sub-bundle .179.

18. Venkata Ramanayya, N., *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, pp.105-106.

19. Commission for the Revision of the Judicial System, 14 to 15 July 1815, pp.1008-1010.

A purvānākār and a shroff or cash keeper assisted the karbār in the subāh[20] in issuing sanads. Besides these officials, there were hircārās, doleyets who were a higher grade attenders and kāvalcārās to assist the subēdār and his subordinate the karbār. They gathered intelligence, ascertained the price level and safeguarded the lives and property of the people.[21] The sibbandi peons who were attached to the chāvadi or catcheri or revenue collection centre guarded it, to prevent any depradation or robbery.[22] They also assisted the inhabitants in cultivation, reported all cases of neglect or of improvement of the cultivation as the case might be and collected the dues to the circar from the villages.[23] Further, they exercised supervising authority over kāvalcārās too.[24] The subēdār, jamēdār, havildār and the nāik[25] were given their own sibbandi services to enforce authority.

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20. Report of George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.1, pp.60-63.

21. Commission for the Revision of the Judicial System, 14 to 15 July 1815, p.1022.

22. Extract of Company's letter to Fort St.George, 18 October 1780, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3341, p.419.

23. Charles Harris, 7 January 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, **Ibid.**, Vol.3200, p.23.

24. Baliga, B.S., Handbook of Tanjore District, p.91.

25. Tanjore District Records, 26 August 1829 to 19 June 1848, Vol.3440, pp.24-25.

In the maintenance of peace and order and in the discharge of the executive functions in the *subāh* a *faujdār* was posted as a co-officer of the *subēdār*. He was the commander of the military force stationed in the *subāh* to put down riots and to suppress the robbers.[26] He supervised the policing of the towns and villages.[27] The official establishment of the *faujdārs* consisted of the *hircārā* and writers. The *darōgā* who was, the head of the police establishments of the *subāh* and the head of the intelligence department assisted him in maintaining peace and order.[28] Since the *subēdār* was a military governor, the *faujdār* was appointed to serve as a check upon him.

Māhāṇam

The *subāhs* were sub-divided into *māhāṇams*. The kingdom of Tanjore consisted of 113 *māhāṇams*. The number of *māhāṇams* was not the same throughout the Maratha regime. Between 1747 and 1748, the Tanjore country consisted of 142 *māhāṇams*.[29] At the British take over of the administration there existed five subāhs and 115 māhāṇams.[30] The general management of

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[26] Hickey, W., *Op.cit.*, pp.49-51.

[27] *Ibid.*, p.50.

[28] King of Tanjore, Letter to Governor, Fort St.George, received on the 25 February 1753, M.C.C., Vol.I, p.39.

[29] The Journal of the Tanjore Maharajah Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Vol.XVIII, No.3, 1965, pp.1-6.

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30. The jamabandi Report of 1800 gives the names of 115 māhāṇams. They were as follows:
Trivady, Kudiyur, Rajendra Cholaganallur, Paramour, Chanampatty, Varagur, Ambattu velly, Namum, Ambalapandy, Swamimalai, Cothangoody, Salymangalam, Moorthimapuram, Poonapuram, Kunradungudy, Orthanadu, Polavankadu, Paupavinasam, Anjumankudy, Maratur, Naiconum, Valangaman, Mattore, Aulangudy, Haridwaramangalam, Pulavalum, Treganamangay, Choolakaray, Perumal Agaram, Sandungudy, Vallecudy, Vickudy, Palaipatty, Nadiyur, Sengolpuram, Kodavassal, Tricalambur, Vallum, Singampatti, Salimangalam.

Mayavaram, Thrunintavoor, Teruchampally, Thiruvangadu, Thenpandy, Vallure, Pancha Mahanum, Sirkally, Ponnamalagaram, Nalady, Paranchery, Comall Mahanam, Korcay, Cholanpetta, Thiruvida vally, Tricattur, Achapuram.

Kumbaconum, Mudarjunum, Natchyarkudy, Tirupanamdal, Cholavaram, Courtallum, Carapura, Palayore, Cunjanore, Maelayor, Pandanallur, Manalmedu, Ammapet.

Nannilam, Kutanur, Sarfoji Rajapuram, Sadeyoor, Vicaravandy, Parallum, Palagum, Tirumaragal, Kutramangalam, Tirunallur, Karaikkal, Ponnony, Puvanur, Panchanadoo, Sriparameswaran, Saindungudy, Cuttur, Japalagramam, Tiruturai Poondy, Ariyalur, Edumbavanam, Sanguel, Vadur.

Kevalore, Thayore, Palakurichy, Sateekudi, Antonipattu, Paliavanum, Seecar Mahanum, Trivalangudy, Trividamarudur, Vadamalay, Auyakasambalam, Kelliyur, Tholangar, Pattukkottai, Nayavale, Curnugudy, Vadataravu, Auradandu Parunallur, Amaravady,

Jamabandy Report, 1800, Boards' Miscellany Records, Vols.181-182, pp.1-30.

the *māhāṇam* was entrusted with the *amuldār*.[31] He maintained peace and order within the *māhāṇam*, protected the people of his *māhāṇam* against the attack or in roads of the armed bands. If any such incident occurred he reported to the *subēdār* and then to the king.[32] The *amuldār* exercised civil justice in his respective *māhāṇam*.[33] Disputes over tanks and water courses came to the *amuldār* for settlement. Usually he settled these disputes by peaceful negotiations with the assistance of leading inhabitants.[34] If the parties did not accept the arbitration, he took the cases to the *subēdār* for final disposal.[35] He arrested and imprisoned the oppressive money lenders too.[36]

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31. Messers Thomas Cooper, E.W.Fallow Field and Maitland, 30 June 1775, Letter to Hon.Alexander Wynch, Revenue Consultations, Vol.2, p.213.

32. Capt.Brown, 26 April 1786, Letter to Col.Stuart, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3444, p.583.

33. Commission for the Revision of the Judicial System, 14 to 15 July 1815, p.1021.

34. E.W.Fallow Field, Resident at Tanjore, 11 November 1785, Letter to Muthiah, amuldar of Karikal, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3443, pp.759-760.

35. E.W.Fallow Field, Resident at Tanjore, 12 November 1785, Letter to Thasappiah, the karbar, *Ibid*., Vol.3443, pp.763-764.

36. Petition from a prisoner at Cuddalore, 4 May 1786, to John Huddleston, Resident at Tanjore, *Ibid*., Vol.3444, p.665.

As the head of the revenue establishment of his mahāṇam he supervised the collection of revenue,[37] and safeguarded the people from the obnoxious exactions.[38] When the collection of revenue was over, he took the needed measures to promote agriculture in the next season, inspected and repaired water tanks and water courses, enquired into the conditions of the ryots and redressed their grievances. The amuldār excavated new channels for irrigation and prevented the people of other māhāṇams from digging channels through his territory without his previous sanction.[39] By his vigilant supervision, he forced the land holders to cultivate their lands and viewed seriously cases of negligence.[40] The amuldārs exercised supervisory control over the kāvalcārās of his māhāṇam too.

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[37] Representation made by the tenants of Kevalore māhānam to the Resident, 9 July 1785, Ibid., Vol.3443, p.27.

[38] Petition from a prisoner at Cuddalore, 4 May 1786, to John Huddleston, Resident at Tanjore, Ibid., Vol.3444, p.665.

[39] Representation made by the tenants of Kevalore māhānam to the Resident, 9 July 1785, Ibid., Vol.3443, p.27.

[40] Report on the Trivendipuram Farm, 1775, p.3.

If any of the *kāvalcārās* did not pay the compensation for the loss sustained within a specified period, the *amuldārs* paid it from the *kāval* fund.[41] He also supervised the services of the *sibbandi* in his *māhāṇam*, appointed for the purpose of collecting the revenue and for looking after the general defence of the country.[42] During war the *amuldār* prepared a list of missing persons from his *māhāṇam*, for several of them would have been killed or carried away.[43] When the army stayed in his village, he supplied provisions required for the soldiers.[44] Apart from his administrative service, he performed religious duties too. When the high priest of the state paid a visit to his *māhāṇam*, the *amuldār* made arrangements for his stay and looked after his comforts.[45]

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[41] William Petrie, 19 April 1792, Letter to George Andrew Ram, Collector of Western division of Tanjore, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3442, p.460.

[42] William Petrie and E.W.Fallow Field, 9 February 1792, Letter to Fort St.George, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.3,p.70.

[43] James Stringer, Collector of Tanjore, 29 April 1792, Letter to William Petrie, President of the Board of Assumed Revenue, *Ibid*., Vol.3, p.198.

[44] Tuljaji, 21 January 1764, Letter to the Governor, Fort St.George, M.C.C., Vol.12, p.21.

[45] George Andrew Ram, Collector of Western Division of Tanjore, 19 April 1792, Letter to William Petrie, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.3, p.174.

In discharging his duties the *amuldār* had his assistants and official establishments. The *peshcār* was the immediate assistant to the *amuldār* and he acted in the absence of the latter from the station.[46] He superintended all the servants employed in the *amuldār's* office. He reported to the *amuldār* the particular work for which each person was employed.[47] The *dastrum* kept all the accounts of the office.[48] Below these principal officers, the *patakanis* managed the revenue account of the *māhāṇam*. The *saṁprīti* was his counterpart to write the accounts in Tamil language. The *chithis* read and replied letters received from the superiors with the help of *rāyasam*, who was the Tamil correspondence clerk. There were *hircārās* and *kāvalcārās* to assist him too.[49] The *vaṭṭam*

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[46] Commission for the Revision of the Judicial System, 14 to 15 July 1815, p.1022.

[47] Police Committee Book, 7 to 15 February 1814, p.1007.

[48] Diary of the proceedings of the Collectorate of Mayavaram Division, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3254, p.6.

[49] Report of Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.1, pp.60-63. Also Police Committee Book, 16 September to 18 December 1805, pp.1021-1022.

moṇiams usually stayed in the office of the *amuldār* to produce the accounts as and when demanded.[50] To attend on the *amuldār* and to carry the messages from him to the head inhabitants for the transaction of the public business a *mahatady* peon was posted. It was his duty to watch the husbandmen, who were indebted to the government.

The *amuldar* collected the *almāgānum* and other minor taxes from the people to meet the general expenditure of the *māhāṇam*.[51] The coolies employed in various capacities received their pay from the *amuldār* out of the revenue collected for the circar. The *subēdārs* in the *subāhs*, the *amuldārs* in the *māhāṇams* and the *monigar* in the *vaṭṭam* collected the tax from the inhabitants and paid the remuneration at the place of collection,[52] whereas the circar paid for the *subēdārs* and the other officers in the sub-division. But the *subēdārs* after receiving the pay from the circar for all the officers in the sub-division did not defray the salary promptly. On the other hand he usually retained the whole amounts in his hands and forced the *amuldārs*, *monigars* and the *samprītis* to exact their allowance from the ryots. In turn the unpaid officers oppressed ryots. Occasionally they joining hands with the *kāvalcārās* and *pathakdārs* defrauded the state and put the people in a state of plight. Understanding the sorry plight of the people and fearing the British intervention in the administration, Amir Singh made arrangements to pay the servants in the *kachēry* or *chāvadi* in the presence of the *hircārās*. Yet this did not prevent the officers from resorting to exactions.[53]

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[50] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.5, Bundle.112, Sub-bundle.91.

[51] George Andrew Ram and William Petrie, 20 November 1791, Letter to the Board of Assumed Revenue, Board's Proceedings, Vol.2, pp.834-841.

[52] Archbald Campbell, 10 April 1787, Letter to the rajah of Tanjore, M.C., Vol.119, p.80.

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53. Amir Singh's reply to the Confidential and Secret Report, April 21, 1787, M.C.C., Vol.36, pp.83-98.

Vaṭṭam

A *vaṭṭam* was an administrative unit in the *māhāṇam*. A *māhāṇam* comprised of thirty or forty *vaṭṭams*. The *monigar* was the civil authority of the *vaṭṭam*.[54] He maintained peace and order within the *vaṭṭam* and exercised judicial authority. He first heard the complaints and decided minor cases.[56] However, his decision was not final for the affected person could make an appeal to the higher authority. Quiting a *vaṭṭam* without the knowledge and permission of the *monigar* was deemed as defiance to his authority.[57]

The *monigar* supervised the religious festivals in his *vaṭṭam*. A *havildār* assisted him with his military force in maintaining peace and order within the *vaṭṭam*. During religious festivals with the assistance of the *havildārs*, he main-

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54. Charles Harris' Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement of the country, 1804, pp.90-93.

55. Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement of the country, 1804, p.51.

56. Revenue letters sent and received from December 1802 to May 1803, pp.69-97, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3240, pp.96-97.

57. Sundry Records, Vol.3209, p.97.

tained order and cleaned the roads leading to the *pagodas*.[58] For discharging these works, a *monigar* received one and a half *pagoda* as his remuneration from the government besides a grant of land.[59] However, the authority of the *monigar* was subject to the supervision of the *havildār*, who was essentially a military officer.

Village Administration

The Maratha principality of Tanjore contained 5879 villages.[60] Each village consisted of a residential area

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[58] Major Innes, 19 July 1799, Letter to Benjamin Torin, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3464, p.553.

[59] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.3, Bundle.127, Sub-bundle.21.

[60] Srinivasan, C.K., in his "*Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*", p.361, states that the whole of Tanjore consisted of 5783 villages. But the *Tanjore Collectorate Records*, Vol.3392, p.10, mentions 5879 villages. *The Tanjore Commissioners' Report*, 1799, states about lands under Inam tenure. Both Srinivasan and the Tanjore District Records agree in the following details:

Ekabhogam villages	.. 1807
Palbhogam villages	.. 2202
Samudayam villages	.. 1774
Total	.. 5783 villages

We can conclude that villages under inam tenure were ninety six. Hence what the Tanjore Collectorate Records mentions is correct.

divided into wards, cultivated lands, wastelands, cremation grounds and temples. The villagers distributed the cultivable lands among themselves. The village community was the unit of local administration and it consisted of a number of hereditary officials appointed by the committee of the proprietors of the village.

The agraharavagai villages were given as endowments to the Brahmins. They had proprietory rights over these villages and held them as their common property. All the proprietors were jointly and separately held responsible for payments of revenue. They were entitled to share the gains and burdens in proportion to the extent of their respective holdings. Redistribution was effected by lot[61] at fixed times. As the Brahmin community claimed superiority over the other communities they never allowed the non-Brahmins to dwell in their villages.[62] In the paṇḍāra-vagai villages, the Sudras had the exclusive proprietorship. The land was distributed for cultivation, but the sale of any share could be done only with common consent. Like the Brahmins, the sudras too, did not allow the Brahmins to enter into their villages for fear of encroachment. The rulers distributed waste lands for cultivation to the needy. The holders of such land were undisturbed as long as they paid the revenue to the state.[63]

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[61] Lushington, S.R., 29 December 1800, Report to the Board of Revenue, p.17.

[62] Rajayyan, K., Administration and Society in the Carnatic, Tirupati, 1966, p.86.

Each village had its headman, a local assembly and a subordinate establishment. The village headman as the chief executive of the village, acted as the intermediary between the government and the village communities. The elders of the village served in the village assembly. In villages, where different castes lived, the headmen of the different castes, assumed membership,[64] but in some villages all the land holders served in the assembly.[65] The influence of caste or holding of land was the qualification for membership.

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[63] Lushington, S.R., 29 December 1800, Report to the Board of Revenue, pp.16-18.

[64] Sewell, R., List of Copper Plates, No.65A.

[65] Srinivasachary, C.S., Village Organisation in the Madras Presidency, pp.1-2.

The *paṭēl* or *macaddam* was the headman of the village. The village assemblies appointed him. If he were found unfit to discharge his duties either because of sickness, slackness or misconduct the village council appointed another from among his relatives. The *paṭēl* performed the duties of a magistrate, a local judge and a collector of revenue. He also collected taxes, supervised the execution of law[66] and controlled the police establishment of his village.[67] Further he settled disputes with the assistance of the *panchayats*. An appeal against his decision could be taken to the *amuldar* of the *māhāṇam*. However, he exercised no jurisdiction over the cases relating to caste or religious discipline.[68]

In exercising his duties the *paṭēl* was assisted by a *karṇam*. The *karṇams* were of two groups - *kudi-karṇams* who were village officials and the *sarkar karṇams* who were public servants. The *karṇam* kept a *roshtram* or register of the right and shares of the land held by individuals of the village, and maintained copies of regulations framed by the rulers from time to time.[69] In petty cases he served as the judge and magistrate.[70]

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[66] Selection from the Records of Fort St.George, 13 May 1815, No.2.

[67] Commission for the revision of the Judicial System, copies of letters received 14 August 1815 to 19 December 1816, p.265.

[68] Selection from the Records of Fort St.George, 13 May 1815, No.2.

Besides the *karṇams* there were many minor functionaries to assist the *paṭēl*. The *kāvalcārās* served as the village constables.[71] The village shroff sorted and checked all collections. The village astrologer announced the most auspicious day to plough the fields, sow seeds, reap the harvest, repair tanks, celebrate social and religious festivals and foretold the changes of seasons. The snake-charmer kept the villages clear of snakes and administered medicine for snake bites.[72] In addition to these functionaries there were priests, physicians, dancing masters, dancing girls,[73] trumpeters and drummers.[74]

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[69] Correspondence relating to the Revision of Village Revenue establishment of the Madras Presidency, 1867, Part I, pp.II-IV. Also selection from the records Fort St.George, 8 March 1816, No.11, Bandala Rāmaswami Naidu, *Op.cit.*, Also Memoirs on the Internal Administration of the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1908, p.47.

[70] Harris' Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.20.

[71] Reports on the police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, p.56.

The *tōṭis* who were the scavengers of the village, were of the three categories. The higher order of *tōṭis* measured the grains and lands, the second attended to the distribution of water for irrigation and the last group maintained the water courses. They carried out the order of the *paṭēl*. The players of country music attended all the religious shows and public ceremonies. The washerman washed the clothes of the husbandsmen. The potmakers furnished the husbandsmen with pots. To provide the husbandsmen with leather footwear there were shoe-makers in the villages.[75] These local servants were divided into two groups: those who served the community and those who served the individuals. The village paid the first group of servants from the common fund, whereas the individuals paid the second group from their share of the *mēlvāram*.

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[72] Thomas Cooper, E.W.Fallow Field, Maintland, 30 June 1775, Letter to Alexander Wynch, Governor, Fort St.George, Revenue Consultations, Vol.2, pp.213-221.

[73] Village Communities in Southern India, (Connemara Library, Madras), p.56.

[74] Sewell, R., *List of Copper Plate,* No.60/224.

[75] Thomas Cooper, E.W.Fallow Field and Maitland, 30 June 1775, Letter to Alexander Wynch, Governor, Fort St. George, Revenue Consultations, Vol.2, pp.221-223.

No uniform system of payment of remuneration to the local servants was followed. Some of them enjoyed *inam* or *manyam* lands while others received grain or money.[76] The astrologer enjoyed both *inam* lands and one *marakal*[77] of paddy for every *kāni*[78] of land. The *kanakkpiḷḷai* received seven *marakals* as his remuneration out of which four *marakals* were given at the rate of one *marakal* for every hundred *marakals* from the grain land and three *marakals* as fixed rent from the lands

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76. Correspondence relating to the Revision of Village Revenue Establishment of the Madras Presidency, Part I, pp.IV-V.

77. *Marakal*: In the ordinary sense means wooden log. It is also a measuring device which was in vogue among the peasant population. Generally three and a half measures form a *marakal*.

78. **Kāni** - 47,600 Sq.ft. of land.

let out. The tōṭis enjoyed three-fourth of a marakal out of 400 marakals of paddy. The washerman also enjoyed two marakals of grain out of every 400 marakals in addition to inam lands. The snake charmers or snake doctors enjoyed inam lands and one-fourth of a marakal of grain out of every 400 marakals of grain produced. The shoe-maker also enjoyed one-fourth of a marakal of grain out of every 400 marakals and the country musician received three-fourth of a marakal for every 400 marakals of produce.[79] All the village servants enjoyed grain manyam from the individuals and inam lands from the sircar.[80]

By and large the Marathas tolerated the working of traditional institutions at the local level. Only the names and the territorial divisions were varied. The old sub-

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79. Thomas Cooper, E.W.Fallow Field and Maitland, 30 June 1775, Letter to Alexander Wynch, Governor, Fort St. George, Revenue Consultations, Vol.2, pp.213-224.

80. Report and Correspondence to the Government by Mr.Duck on the Police, 1 May 1805 to December 1806, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, p.1805.

divisions continued but the names like *maṇḍalam*, *nādus* and *kūtrams* became defunct. To avoid administrative confusion and to maintain contact with the people, the Marathas appointed counterparts to write the accounts to the Maratha officers. Yet the frequent wars and domestic strifes disturbed the smooth functioning of the administration. The officials became corrupt and they cheated the government and at times they did not care for the commands of their superiors and took law in their own hands.

The local administration of the Marathas was neither entirely of their own, nor of the inherited system, but a combination of both. There were inconsistencies between the inherited system and the new system. The Marathas adopted the old territorial sub-divisions like the *māhāṇams*, *vaṭṭams* and villages. They increased the number of *māhāṇams* and *vaṭṭams* to suit their administrative convenience too. The kings retained the services of the *saṁprīti*, the *rāyasam* and the *karṇam*. Thus there were striking similarity between the services of the above functionaries of the inherited system with that of the introduced system.

The creation of a new territorial division above the *māhāṇams* called the *subāh* was a hitherto unknown system to Tanjore. Further the appointment of administrators like the *subēdār*, *faujdār*, *amuldār* and the *havildār* in the subdivisions was also dissimilar from the old system. In the previous set up the rulers appointed *nayaks* as the viceroys, but in the new set up the *subēdār* occupied the place of the viceroys and the *nayaks* were degraded to the status of mere military officers. The *amuldārs* and the *havildārs* were the new entries in the local administration.

The local administration was beneficial to the head of the state but at the same time expensive too. The administrators made use of the services of the local sub-division officers only to promulgate their orders, exact taxes to fill their treasury and to force the defaulters to pay the arrears of tax. The officials were further directed to supply military on demand, recruit soldiers and train them and to quell rebellions. Thus the sub-division officers served their master and not the people. The welfare of the people was neglected. Instead of giving protection to the people they played the role of the cohards on the fold. They oppresse the poor people to satisfy their own welfare. Some of the high officials were the relatives of the royalty or the harem, who enjoyed extraordinary privileges at the expense of the state. The officials took law and order in their hands and suppressed the people who resented the official excess. Thus the local administration instead of giving the people a clean rule with their welfare as its goal subjected them to a state of aweful plight.

CHAPTER IV

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

The state derived its income from a variety of sources namely the land revenue, customs, chillara kūdutal or sundries, tributes, fines and professional taxes. Of these, the land revenue was the chief source of income to the state. The cultivable lands remained divided into nañjai or wet land and the puñjai or dry land. From the nañjai lands the state collected melvārem which was governments share of the gross produce and collected a fixed tax called the pāṭṭacaṭṭu from the puñjai lands.

During the period of the Maratha rule, the inhabitants of Tanjore experienced three varieties of land revenue settlements viz., the amāni[1] system, the pathakam[2] system and the dabirmūri[3] system. Under the amāni system the state directly supervised the agricultural operation[4] and collected the tax. In the pathakam system the state gave the lands to the pathakdars and received its share from them directly.[5] When the dabirmūri system was in operation the state had directly collected its tax from the cultivators.[6] Even though the Marathas adopted these systems, they did not develop any permanent system of their own. The rate of taxes too varied and the number of taxes never remained the same throughout the Maratha regime in Tanjore for they were subject to frequent revisions.

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[1] Baliga, B.S., Studies in the Madras Administration, Madras, 1960, p.103.

[2] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.170.

[3] Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.172.

In their land revenue administration the rajahs followed the local traditions. The items of taxes that they collected were already in existence but their systems of collection were different. In fact they were influenced by the Konkan system. The damāsha-mūri was the re-birth of the istāwā system which was in vogue at Konkan, with some changes in the mode of operation. The damasha-mūri was the progressive taxation to reach the maximum at three or four years, whereas in the istawa system, the assessment was gradually increased in the newly cultivated lands until the maximum was reached in eight years.[7] Thus the Marathas tried to combine the local system with the Konkan system partially.

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[4] Baliga, B.S., Tanjore District Handbook, p.92.

[5] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.91.

[6] Report of Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, p.36.

Classification of land

For assessing the state's share the state measured the lands in terms of vēli, mā, kāni and kuli.[8] The vēli was the largest unit and the kuli was the smallest unit. They used a bamboo stick measuring fourteen man's feet as the measuring rod. The actual length of the rod was twelve

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[7] Sathianathaier, R., A Political and Cultural History of India, Vol.2, Madras, 1962, p.521.

[8] Charles Harris, 1 July 1803, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.39-40. Generally,

one vēli	.. 2,35,000 Sq.ft.	i.e. five kānis
one kāni	.. 47,600 Sq.ft.	i.e. four mās
one mā	.. 14,400 Sq.ft.	i.e. 100 kulis
one kuli	.. 144 Sq.ft.	

One Tanjore kuli = 147½ Sq.ft.

feet and one and a half inches.[9] In remote villages they measured lands in terms of ploughs.[10] As there was no standard unit of measurement the actual extent of every piece of land was unknown to each other. In measuring the sarvamānyam[11] lands they kept a different bamboo stick measuring twelve feet and eight and a half inches in length. This increased the measurement of a vēli from 32,670 5/36 square feet to 32,889 square feet.[12] Thus variations in measurement confused the common people as well as the revenue servants. Yet after measuring the lands, they classified them into different categories and fixed the tax.

For the convenience of taxation the state divided the lands into two. Lands that were watered by rivers were called ātupāchel or nañjai or wet lands. Lands that depended on lakes and rain for cultivation were called *mānāvāri* or *puñjai* or dry lands. In the *nañjai* lands the farmers cultivated two crops annually. The larger one was *sambāh* or *peshāṇum*. This crop was sown in August and September, transplanted and nourished until January or February. The cultivators preferred the *ātupāchel* land for they were more dependable than the *mānāvāri* and were best suited for cultivation though at times they were subjected to floods.[13] The total area of cultivation in the river beds other than Kaveri was 81833 *vēlis*. The state's share of the revenue from the *puñjai* or *ātupāchel*[14] land was called the *melvāram* which was a portion

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[9] Charles Harris, 13 May 1800, Letter to Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.297.

[10] A plough was like an allegorical symbol to express a fixed share.
Srinivasachary, C., Village Organisation in the Madras Presidency at the time of the Introduction of British Rule, Reprint from Annamalai University Journal, Vol.I, No.1, pp.20-28.

[11] sarvamānyam - Infa, p.110.

[12] Charles Harris, 13 May 1800, Letter to Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, pp.297-298.

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[13] Charles Harris, 1 July 1803, Letter to the Board of Revenue, *Ibid*., Vol.3201, pp.17-19 and 82-85.

[14] The following rivers irrigated Tanjore -

Vennar	..	28509 vēlis
Vellar	..	17657 vēlis
Veerasolagum	..	14032 vēlis
Kudamuruty	..	11681 vēlis
Munnayar	..	9954 vēlis

Report for Making a Permanent Settlement, 1806, p.25.

of the gross produce called vuḍavaram.[15]

The mānāvāri land was the inferior quality of land. They were dry and arid suitable only for dry crops. The sambāh or pēshāṇum or first crop were sown and transplanted in November during the fall of the monsoon and nourished between March and May with water collected in the lakes and tanks. The cadappa car or second crop was sown and transplanted during June and September. These lands were less exposed to floods.[16] The government derived a fixed tax from these lands called the pāṭṭacaṭṭu or quit rent.

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[15] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, p.18.

[16] The following statement shows the month and the duration of the freshes:

May fasli fresh	15th to 20th May	6 days
June	20th June to 5th July	15 days
August	28th July to 31st August	34 days
September and October	Beginning of either month	30 days
November fresh	15 November to 15 December	30 days

Charles Harris, 1 July 1803, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.16-20.

Types of Land Holding

Mainly three types of land holding existed in Tanjore, namely ēka-bhōgam, pāl-bhōgam and samudayam or peshangary. Ekabhōgam was a type of land holding in which an individual or family possessed the entire land of the village.[17] It was otherwise known as village tenure. The number of villages under this kind was 1807.[18] The zamindar paid the fixed tax to the government either in person or through the authorised agents of the government.

Pālbhōgam or adickrain was another type of individual land holding. The number of villages under this category was 2202. Under this system several persons possessed a particular village in common. The monigar supervised the agricultural operation of the villagers. Each person had a separate right for cultivation.[19] The peasants had the right to hold it for ten years. On the expiry of ten years a general shuffle took place in the allotment of the individual share. While doing so the state gave due consideration to the location of the land in the village, the proximity of the same to the rivers and the convenience for manuring.[20] The share consisting of all kinds of lands such as *nañjai*, *puñjai* and backyard were shared in equal proportion.[21] The village burial ground, water courses, tanks and temple waste lands were properties reserved for public use.[22] The peasants used boundary stones to demarcate their share. The villagers had no right to increase or reduce the share at their will. They could do so only with the consent and good will of the neighbours. The state levied tax on the gross *nañjai* produce of the village and in the *puñjai* lands a fixed tax called *pāṭṭacaṭṭu* . The holder of the share was responsible for the state's share of the produce.[23]

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[17] Report for Making Permanent Settlement, 1806, pp.10-11.

[18] Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.361.

[19] Report for Making Permanent Settlement, 1806, pp.10-11.

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[20] Report of Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, p.23.

[21] Bandala Ramaswami Naidu, *Op.cit.*, p.46.

[22] Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, S., *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the Last Forty Years of British Administration*, Madras, 1839, p.220.

Peshangary or *samudayam* was known by different appellations like joint proprietorship, village communal and *mirāsi* holding.[24] In Tanjore this system was known by the hybrid term *mirāsi*.[25] It means the proprietory right of using the usufructs.[26] The number of villages under this tenure was 1774. In mirāsi villages several land holders were made responsible for the government's share of the produce. The collection of revenue from these villages was easier than that from the other villages.[27] The mirāsdār had the hereditary right over the property. He had the right to transfer the entire or a part of his share without referring to the government.[28] On the death of the father the son immediately assumed the rights without any fresh order or assignment from the government. He paid the state's share as his predecessor did.[29] The holders of the mirāsi right in a village were made jointly responsible for the mēlvāram[30] due to the government. If any misfortune be fell on any particular mirāsdār the whole community bore the brunt.[31]

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[23] Report of Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, p.23.

[24] *Mirāsi* - The word *mirās* signifies inheritance. It was connected with the proprietory possession of usufructs. The word is Arabic in origin. Like many other revenue terms in Tamil, it is adapted to the language of India through Persian. When the first I or I representing the Izafal in Tamil, is elided become mirasu. Generally mirasi prevails where the Tamil language is spoken. There was another kind of mirasu called the official mirasu, consisting of certain extent of manyams or rent free lands generally in proportion to the extent and the value of the village and of a *mūri* a fixed percentage of the produce of all varapet lands. This official mirasu varies in different provinces in an equal degree with the landed mirasi and it prevails where the later is unknown.
Ellis, F.L., *Replies to Seventeen Questions proposed by the Government of Fort St.George Relative to Mirasi with two appendices*, Madras, 1818, pp.1-4.

[25] Report for Making Permanent Settlement, 1806, p.11.

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[26] Ellis, F.L., Op.cit., p.1.

[27] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, p.23.

[28] Venkataswami Row, T., (ed.), Op.cit., p.397.

[29] Charles Harris, Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.90.

The state allowed the people to opt to anyone of these three systems, but most of the people opted for the adickrain for it suited to their convenience. It also permitted them to transfer their land from one pathakam to another.[32] Sometime one single mirāsdār had his property in two or three pathakams.

Inam lands were land grants, held rent free, hereditarily and perpetually occupied. They were private estates or property, mortgageable and saleable with the consent of the co-heirs.[33] The kings gave lands to their favourites or otherwise and such lands became inam proper. The religious institutions enjoyed the revenue of these lands in lieu of ready money allowances. Lands which belonged to the private estate of the rajahs were known as mokāsā.[34] Besides these, the kings gave mānyams or rent free lands to persons of recognised merit. Sometimes they were the free gifts **made by the kings. There were** three types of mānyam lands; sarva mānyam,[35] ardha mānyam[36] and kalle mānyam.[37] There were sotantram lands or free gifts also attached to this tenure.[38]

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[30] There were different kinds of vāram or produce. They were-

Melvāram: Share of the sircar in the net produce either of the nanjai or panjai or sornadayam land.
Kudivāram: The share of the tenantry and of their labourers in the net produce either of the nanjai or of the punjai or of the sornadayam or cash crop land.

Thunduvāram: The share of the tenantry in the kudivāram.

Parakudivāram: The share of the labourers under the tenantry in the kudivāram.

[31] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.174.

[32] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, p.23.

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33. Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.191.

34. mokāsā - The king assigned this land in return for services to be discharged at his will.

35. Sarva mānyam - Completely rent free lands. Usually this type of land was attached to the temples or institutions.

36. Ardha-mānyam - Half of the rent.

37. Kalle mānyam - One-fourth of the rent.

38. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.7, Bundle.545, Sub-bundle.26.

Land Revenue Settlement

During their administration in Tanjore the Marathas adopted three systems of assessment. The frequent changes of the revenue settlement and the oppressive exactions forced the people to evade payment. On the arrival of the Marathas the amāni system of land revenue settlement or village settlement was in force in Tanjore.[39] They adopted it as it was. Under this system the state officials supervised the harvest. Based on the village rent, the state collected its share and commuted it into money value at the prevailing price.[40] The landlord or the mirāsdār knew exactly what was the gain or loss to the ryots. The state exacted the gain and in case of any loss due to calamities like the flood or drought the government remitted the rent. Occasionally the ryots also shared the loss among themselves.[41] The government received the rent in kind or its commuted value in money.

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[39] Baliga, B.S., Studies in the Madras Administration, p.103.

[40] Baliga, B.S., Tanjore District Handbook, p.92.

[41] Hemingway, F.R., (ed.), Op.cit., pp.168-169.

At the beginning of the Maratha rule the age long amāni system fared well, but in the later years it was found inadequate. The administration of amāni system required a large establishment. The officers involved in the collection were poorly paid and they turned corrupt. In an attempt to get maximum benefit they interfered in the agricultural operations and the ryots left their fields fallow. Yet this system continued till 1804, with occasional breaks and changes until the British introduced the permanent revenue settlement.[42]

On the death of Pratap Singh in 1763, Tanjore experienced the plundering raids of Hyder Ali in 1769, and the occupation of the country by Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic, in 1773.[43] Consequently the pathakam system and the mūri system of land revenue came in. The forces of Mysore burnt and destroyed villages and standing crops. They also cut open

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42. Venkataswami Row, T., Op.cit., Vol.2, p.775.

43. Rajayyan, K., Mohammad Ali's Conquest of Tanjore and After, loc.cit., pp.1-10.

the ponds and the reservoirs.[44] The subāhs of Kumbakonam, Sirkali and Trivadi suffered the worst. Hard pressed for money, king Tuljaji, authorised Bava Pandit, his diwan, to innovate a new system beneficial to the government. Bava Pandit united the ruined lands with the unruined lands for the benefit of the state. The lands thus united were divided into many units called the pathakam and the headman of the pathakam was called pathakdār.[45] Thus there were more than two hundred pathakams and pathakdārs.[46] The pathakdār utilised all resources, labourers, cattle, ploughs and seeds of pathakam for the benefit of all those belonged to that pathakam.[47] The selection of the pathakdār was left to the option of the people. The inhabitants of a particular pathakam selected the pathakdār from and among the leading inhabitants and the government approved it. By virtue of his selection the pathakdār became the sole manager of the pathakam.[48] In course of time the office of the pathakdār became hereditary. The successor signed a fresh kabuliat[49] with the state. The people had no right to object to the succession, but the king had the right to object an arbitrary succession.[50] The pathakdār contracted with the state for its share of the produce called the mēlvāram.[51] He agreed to pay ready money rent and acted as an intermediary between the cultivators and the government.[52] After ascertaining his right over a particular pathakam, the pathakdār, directed the inhabitants to sign a kabuliat containing the extent of the cultivable land,

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[44] Schwartz writes, "Their idols are taken away, their houses burnt and their cattles driven away, and what affects many thousand parents unspeakable more is that Hyder sends their best children away to be circumcised and turned Mohammadans. All the small boys of eight or nine or ten sent to his country, several women were carried away and the banks, west of Trikkattupalli were destroyed, depriving of the Tanjoreans of future hopes of carrying on cultivation in the country". Radhakrishna Ayyar, S., General History of Pudukkottai State, Pudukkottai, 1916, pp.264-265.

[45] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.170.

[46] Report of Ram and Fallow Field, 15 November 1791, to the Board of Revenue, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.I, pp.49-50. For the names of the pathakams, See Appendix.

[47] Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.365.

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[48] Report for Making Permanent Settlement, 1806, p.12.

[49] Kabuliat - written agreement.

[50] Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to William Petrie Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Record, Vol.3200, pp.173-175.

[51] Report for Making Permanent Settlement, 1806, p.12.

[52] Baliga, B.S., Studies in the Madras Administration, p.101.

and the amount of *mūri* or tax agreed upon for each crop.[53] For the first and the second crop in a year, the *pathakdār* paid tax separately.[54] Out of the gross produce, the state deducted grain *mānyam* or free gift to the *pagodas*, grain *mānyam* to the Brahmins, *yaralī* or fee to the *kāvalcārās* and *sotantram* or free gifts to the artificers. For the interior management of the *pathakam*, the *pathakdār* collected a monthly allowance[55] called the *almāgānam*.[56] Out of which, he paid to the *monigar*, *kanakkpiḷḷais* and the agricultural labourers.[57] The *pathakam* system was neither beneficial to the people nor to the state but beneficial to the *pathakdār*. The state commuted the value at the highest price, but the pathakdār made more than half of the collections when the produce was low and paid their share to the government. On the day of price fixation the pathakdārs proved that they have paid excess.[58] Thus the state received less than what the pathakdār collected and the inhabitants paid more than the actual value of the produce. Ultimately the pathakdār was the real beneficiary.

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[53] Alexander Grant, Resident at Tanjore, 11 August 1797, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3232, p.83.

[54] Charles Harris, 7 January 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.21.

[55] Alexander Grant, January 1798, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol. 3434, pp.11-12.

[56] *almāgānam* - It was tax collected for the general expenditure of the *pathakam* in a *mahāṇam* .

[57] Huddleston, 15 May 1781, Letter to Hon.Charles Smith, Governor of Fort St.George, Revenue Consultations, Vol.II, p.194.

While the revenue administration was in an unsettled state Mohammad Ali the Nawab of the Carnatic occupied Tanjore in 1773. In an attempt to raise more money, he directed dabir-pandit, the diwān of Tuljaji to innovate a new system. In his turn the dabir introduced a new system called the mūri system which was called the dabir-mūri system after his name.[59] The dabir-mūri system was a village settlement or pūra-mūri.[60] According to this the government and the viledār or the head inhabitant of the village signed a kabuliat. The government took the average of the pūra-mūri or the gross produce of the whole village for ten years and fixed its share of mēlvāram to which the whole village was made accountable.[61] However, the system of direct tax collection was not satisfactory to the people because they could not understand the same as the Nawab failed to issue clear directions to them. Further, while making the pūra-mūri settlement, the government did not consider the conditions of the water courses and also damage caused during natural calamity. The people were confused due to sudden change in the revenue settlement.[62] Unable to manage with the settlement the Nawab switched over to the amāni system, appointed a number of village officers to estimate and check the produce and collect the state's share on the spot. By adopting this system he collected eighty one lakhs pagodas as land revenue.[63]

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[58] Hunter, W.W., Op.cit., p.147.

[59] Baliga, B.S., Tanjore District Handbook, p.92.

[60] Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.172.

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[61] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, para 9 and 86.

[62] Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.72.

[63] Baliga, B.S., Tanjore District Handbook, p.92.

On restoration Tuljaji adopted the *pathakam* system to raise more revenue but the uneconomic revenue system of the Nawab gave rise to *yēksāl-mūri*, an yearly settlement and *damāshā-mūri*, a progressive taxation. At the beginning the *pathakam* system fared well. During the time of Bava Pandit, the minister of Tuljaji, the inhabitants clamoured for reduction of *mūri* for during the administration of the Nawab of the Carnatic the *Dabir Pandit* fixed the *pūra-mūri* without considering the ruinous condition of the banks of the rivers and natural calamities. But Bava Pandit as a measure of redressing the grievances of the inhabitants granted concessions in the form of *yēksāl-mūri* and *damāshā-mūri*.[64] The *yēksāl-mūri*[65] was a settlement for one year. The inhabitants renewed it every year with the government for higher or lower rates according

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[64] If the *pūra-mūri* of a village be fixed at 10000 pagodas the *damāshā-mūri* was fixed as follows:

first year	..	3000
second year	..	6000
third year	..	9000
fourth year	..	10000

Thus at the end of the fourth year, the stage of the *pūra-mūri* was reached. Afterwards these lands became the *pūra-mūri* lands. Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.72.

[65] *yēksāl* - means one year.

to their ability. It continued for an indeterminate period. Usually the peasants enjoyed this privilege. The damāshāmūri was a progressive tax, fixed for three to five years.[66] The state fixed the rate according to the distance of the land from river beds.

Assessment of Tax

When assessment of the wet lands was made the government took into account the variation of the soils and type of irrigation. In the wet lands, the state considered the distance of the lands from the river beds and the variation of the soil. If the land was situated near the river beds, the rate of tax was less and so also in the case of the lands that were situated far away from the river beds. In the former case the crop was exposed to floods and in the latter case there was irrigation problem. Lands situated in between these two categories paid slightly higher rate of tax. Accordingly in the Vennar river bed the tax was fifty to sixty per cent, in Vellar river bed fifty four to fifty eight per cent, in Kodamuruty river bed fifty to sixty per cent, in Munnyar river bed fifty to fifty eight per cent, in the Vira Solagum river bed sixty per cent.[67] The officials calculated the productivity of the lands in grain standard but the rate of the assessment was not uniform throughout the Maratha rule. Venkoji collected four-fifth (eighty per cent) of the produce as the mēlvārām.[68] King Pratap Singh in order to obtain popular support reduced the public share to sixty two and a half per cent. Subsequently, Amir Singh reduced it to sixty per cent and in some cases to fifty per cent.[69] Thus in

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[66] Charles Harris, 1 July 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, pp.73-75.

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[67] Report for Making Permanent Settlement, 1806, pp.24-25.

[68] Jean-De-Britto, Letter to Paul Olivia, 1683. Sathianathaier, R., History of the Nayaks of Madura, p.291.

[69] The foregoing statement shows the variation of the tax year after year.

Year	Government share
1776-1780	56 %
1784-1785	56 %
1786	53 %
1787	54 %
1788	56 %
1789	57 %

fixing the rate of the *mūri*, the state took into account exigencies too.

The government derived a fixed income from *puñjai* lands. This was called *pāṭṭacaṭṭu* or fixed land revenue or quit rent. All kinds of fruit gardens, ginger, vegetable and sugarcane gardens were brought under this category.[70] Lands yielding tobacco, indigo, orchards, betel were also included in this item.[71] The land holders of each village paid a fixed tax for the *puñjai* lands called the *puñjai pāṭṭacaṭṭu*. Lands attached to the backyards of the houses also came under this category. If there was a second crop the villagers paid five to eight per cent in addition to the original *pāṭṭacaṭṭu* called *cūda-puñjaipudy*[72] or additional *puñjai* tax. For inferior qualities of land depending only on rain for cultivation a fixed tax called the *varsa-pāṭṭacaṭṭu* was collected.[73] Every *kāvalcārā* paid a fixed tax called *kāvalpāṭṭacaṭṭu* for the backyard of his house where he cultivated different varieties of grains. *Kodikalpāṭṭacaṭṭu*[74] was a tax on betel gardens.[75]

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[70] Diary and Proceedings of the Collectorate of Mayavaram Division, Vol.3254, pp.148-149.

[71] Alexander Grant, May 1798, Letter to Edward Saunders, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.2.

[72] *cūdapunjai-pāttacattu* - cūda means additional tax or any other payment above the established rate of tax. panjai - means dry land. Hence it was an additional tax on dry lands.

In fixing the *pāṭṭacaṭṭu* the state adopted a different procedure. At the beginning of every year the state gave the right to collect rent to the highest bidder. In determining the standard rent it looked into the former leases and bidders for guidance. If the state could not collect the statistics by the above means, it took guidance from the discussions with the land holders. After the state fixed the rate, the renter proceeded to the village or farm. When the landholders were informed of the rate of the renters they promised to give their share along with a small profit. When there was a bad harvest, the government servants and the land holders together estimated the crop. After reaching at an agreement they separated fifty per cent of the products and fixed on it a value at prevailing market price and paid it. The renters were so oppressive that their main aim was gain.[76]

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[73] *Varsapāṭṭacaṭṭu* - varsa means yearly.

[74] *Kodikalpāṭṭacaṭṭu* - Koḍi means creeper and it is a tax on creepers.

[75] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.19-20.

Apart from these taxes, the state collected a tax called *pakka kuttagai* or full lease from lands granted to the temples from the renters.[77] The *sotantram-vari* was a tax on all the *sotantram* lands. It varied from four to twelve *chackrams*[78] for hundred *kalams*[79] of paddy.[80] Above this the state received a rent from the indigo farms and tobacco gardens. A tax called *pulian-tope*[81] was collected from tamarind garden and *nactibob*[82] from other gardens.[33]

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[76] Charles Harris, 1 July 1803, Letter to the Board of Revenue, *Ibid.*, Vol.3201, pp.95-96.

[77] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, *Ibid.*, Vol.3201, p.20.

[78] *Chackram* denotes a wheel in the ordinary sense. It was a coin in circulation during the period under study. 16 *chackrams* form a *pagoda*.

[79] *kalam* is a measure in use. Eight *marakal* making one *kalam*. One *marakal* is equal to three and a half measures.

[80] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.19-20.

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[81]. *Pulian-tope* - Puli means a sour taste. The place where the trees produce such type of fruits are called *pulian-tope* or garden.

[82]. *nacti* - means minor or small.
nactibob - is a minor tax.

[33]. The following table shows the rate of tax on other gardens.

Cluster Beans	1. Veli	- Cyamapsis tetra-gonoloba	12	chuck	5	g.p.
Bitter gourd	1. Veli	- Memordica Charantia	12	,,	5	,,
Millet		- Sorgumvalgarl	6	,,	2	,,
Cucumber		- Cucumis Sativus	12	,,	5	,,
Cotton		- Gossypium	12	,,	5	,,
Tobacco		- Nilcotiana Tobaccum	43	,,	7.16	
Plantain		- 1st variety	25		-	
Plantain		- 2nd variety	12		5	
Plantain		- 3rd variety	12		5	
Chillies		- Capsicum fruitsens	12		5	
Turmeric		- Curcumalonga	12		5	
Potatoes		- Solanum Taberosum	12		5	
Sugarcane		- Saccharum officinazum	43		7.16	
Carna root		-	12		5	
Brinjal		- Solanum Melangena	12		5	
Serukilangu		- Dioscoresa	12		5	
Pumpkin		- Cucurbita maxima	12		5	
Indigo		- Indogofera tinctonia	25			
Garlic		- Allium Sativum	25			

Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.18-22.

Commutation

The mode of commutation of the mēlvāram tax into money was peculiar to the Marathas. No sooner did the transplantation complete than the government sent karahās or estimators of the crop to judge the various degrees of the growth of the paddy. The karahās did the work wonderfully well and reported their findings to the government.[84] After this, during harvest season the government sent peshcārs and monigars to take an estimate. Usually the estimate of the monigars and the karahās seldom differed by more than five per cent.[85] During harvest season the hangānam sibbandi[86] inspected the thrashing and heaping of paddy.[87] The ālcādis[88] received their wages in the presence of the *hangāṇam sibbandi.* The charge of the *ālcādis* was one and a half *marakals* for every *kalam*.[89] Out of the rest of the *vudavāram* or gross produce of the land the government deducted grain *manyam* or free gift to the *pagodas*, grain *manyam* to the Brahmins, *yarali* or fee to the *kāvalcārās* and *sotantram* or gift to the artificers. There was no established rate of *sotantram* and the free gifts to the Brahmins and to the *pagodas* except the *kāval* fee. After deducting all these, the rest was the gross produce and the government received its share or the *mēlvāram* as desired by the king, from time to time.[90]

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[84] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, para 21.

[85] Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement, discovered in Tanjore, 1804, p.18.

[86] hangānam sibbandi - The hanganam sibbandi supervised the harvest, thrashing and heaping up of paddy.

[87] Charles Harris Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.16.

[88] ālcādis - The alcadis called themselves as land holders. In Tanjore these people cultivated lands for annual rent and they paid the share either in cash or in specie. General Report of the Chief and Council of Devicottai in the Nature of the Revenue and Mode of Levying and Collecting the same, 27 February 1776, Devicottai Revenue Book, Vol.3389, pp.4-5.

As soon as the government fixed its share of the produce, prior to the sale, the government sent the *hircārās* to the villages to observe the rate of sale per *kalam* of paddy. The *hircārās* proceeded to the appointed villages and bought the quantity of grain for a Tanjore gold *panam*,[91] sealed it and brought it to the *kachēry* with a *cadjān*,[92] mentioning the quantity and the price. They also obtained the signature of the bazaarmen or the merchants to ascertain the facts. The *samprīti* calculated the price of a *kalam* of paddy and registered it. The *hircārās* went to the village markets every now and then and checked the price in each *subāh* and prepared a statement.[93] In the meantime the *sircar* servants also obtained every possible information of external demands in their respective *subāhs*.[94] Two months after obtaining the price of the grains the state convened a general meeting at the palace. The *pathakdārs* or the *mirasdārs* as the case may be, represented the cultivators. The *viledār* or the village officer who was a sircar representative also attended the meeting. The *sirkīl*, the *karbār* and the *punis* also took part in the meeting. They compared the current price of the grain, the report of the hircārās, the extent of cultivation and the rate of the sale of the produce. After that they arrived at the average price per kalam of grain to be collected from the inhabitants. This was the commutation price of the mēlvāram. After ascertaining the average, the state added or deducted from the average of each subāh to maintain the same rate in all the subāhs.[95] They repeated this process every year.[96]

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[89] Thomson Cooper, E.W.Fallow Field and others, 29 February 1776, Letter to Lord Pigot, Governor of Fort St.George, Revenue Consultations, Vol.3, p.40.

[90] Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, pp.166-169.

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[91] *Gold panam* - Twenty four gold *panam* forms a star *pagoda*. 10 *panam* forms a Tanjore *chackram*. Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement discovered in Tanjore, 1804, p.88.

[92] *cadjān* - The cadjans were thick palm leaves. They resembled the papyrus. The inhabitants wrote their agreement or letters on the cadjan, Fullarton, *A View of English interest in India*, London, 1788, p.150.

[93] Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.179.

[94] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, para 6.

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[95] Ibid., para 21.

[96] The following table shows the method of fixing the rate of the states share and commutation:

	Price per cullum in gold panam
15th October	2
2nd November	2¼
7th November	2½
22nd November	2¾
27th November	3
3rd December	3¼
11th December	3½
18th December	3¾
2nd January	4
3rd January	4¼
	31¼

This average is meant for the subāh of Trivadi. The total for the ten times of checking was 31¼ gold panams. Hence the average being 31¼/10 = 3 1/8 gold panam.

	Price per cullum in gold panam
2nd October	1¾
2nd November	1 7/8
7th November	2
27th November	2¼
30th November	2½
1st December	2¾
21st December	3¼
27th December	3½
2nd January	4
3rd January	4¼
	28 1/8

This average is for Kumbakonam subah. The average for ten times 21 1/8/10. Hence the average being 2¾ gold panam. The sircar fixed at 3 gold panam for a kalam. The average for two subahs was 2¾.
Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, p.23.

In fixing the price, the state considered the grade of the grain, the share payable to the government and the commutation price.[97]

The land revenue administration marked by vexatious assessments reduced the people to ordeals. Innumerable taxes under various pretexts added their misery. If an inhabitant produced one hundred kalams of paddy he gave sixty to seventy per cent to the government as mēlvāram after deducting the fee of the kavalcārās , sotantram to the Brahmins and the temples. Out of the rest he paid minor taxes for different festivals and additional course of cultivation. He paid to the servants, supported his family and met the expenditure on agricultural operation. In order to meet the expenditure, he borrowed from the native merchants and oppressive money lenders at the rate of fifty to sixty per cent of interest.[98] Thus he became a constant debtor. The authority of the pathakdār too was the source of oppression. They attended the palace meetings instead of the tenants and even after attending the

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97. Hemingway, F.R., (ed.), Op.cit., p.168.

98. Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.1, p.170.

meeting they did not bother to inform the peasants of the periodical remissions. As they were the lessees of the lands they exacted as much as possible at their will.[99] As the yēksāl-mūri system allowed remission to the inhabitants the pathakdārs demanded remission for partial drought also. At the same time the inhabitants did not enjoy it. Since the damāshā-mūri was a progressive taxation, the government granted it only to the higher class of people whose means were sufficient to meet the periodical demands of the state even after unexpected loss. Thus they neglected the poor.[100] Even though the state collected so much of taxes, it did not show any interest in agricultural operation. The sluices, tanks and field lakes were left uncared for and consequently they were found in a state of ruin. The government did not take necessary measures to repair or reconstruct the ruined ones,[101] for it was lost in problems of its own.

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99. Charles Harris, Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.109.

100. Charles Harris, 4 April 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, pp.172-175.

101. Charles Harris, Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.109.

The kings adopted oppressive means and the people determined to follow evasive tactics. In order to collect the state's share from the defaulters the rulers adopted oppressive means. The kāvalcārās proceeded to the villages, hauled up the defaulters, fastened their heads with their legs and confined them in the kachery with stones on their heads and ordered them to stand in the scorching sun.[102] The amuldārs too arrested the defaulters and kept them in prison. Sometimes the defaulters forfeited the lands leased to them for agriculture.[103] To escape these ordeals the people at times sought to defraud the administration. They deceived the amuldārs , pēshcārs and monigars by showing false accounts.[104] They bribed the sibbandi peons who were sent to watch the peasants at the time of harvest by means of bāṭā and extra-allowances to permit them to show false accounts.[105] Even then they found it impossible to escape the exactions. The miserable inhabitants in a bid to save their dependents and their own lives resented the activities of the government. They appealed to the rajah and when they failed to get their grievances redressed, they adopted enmass evacuation from the rajah's territory. The rajah either in fear of loss of revenue or with good motives sent for the people and announced full justice to them. On refusal the king sent his subēdār of the respective area to convince the people with his proposed concessions. If the people agreed to them.the subēdār restored normalcy.[106]

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[102] N.M.Kindsley, 28 August 1839, Letter to J.Macleod, Member of the Law Commission, Secret Records, Vol.3440, pp.24-25.

[103] Subramonian, K.R., Op.cit., p.80.

[104] The Collector of Tanjore, 31 May 1803, Letter to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3209, p.121.

[105] Charles Harris, Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.98.

As a result of the neglect of cultivation, in roads by free booters and frequent exodus of the inhabitants, the cultivable lands became fallow, manufacturers suffered, commerce declined and public revenue fell. In 1784 William Fullarton, the British Colonel, observed that Tanjore was marked with the distinguishing features of a desert. The revenue at the beginning of the Maratha regime was 3,20,50,000 kalams of paddy but at the end of their rule it fell steadily.

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[106] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, pp.32-33.

The fall in revenue was 53.29 per cent within a period of 125 years.[107]

In fact the revenue administration of the Marathas was characterised by oppressive settlements. As they changed the systems to serve their interests the people found it extremely difficult to adjust. A new method was tried out even before people adjusted themselves to the old set up. Had the Marathas stuck to any one of the three systems - *amāni*, *pathakam* and *dabir mūri* - things would have shaped well and the subjects

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[107] The following table shows the fall in amount of produce.

1.	Ekoji	320,500,00	kalams
2.	Shahji	320,500,00	,,
3.	Sarfoji I	240,000,00	,,
4.	Tukoji	240,000,00	,,
5.	Baba Sahib	200,000,00	,,
6.	Suguna Bai	200,000,00	,,
7.	After the death of Suguna	200,000,00	,,
8.	Pratap Singh	170,000,00	,,
9.	Tuljaji	150,000,00	,,
10.	During the administration of the Nawab	170,000,00	,,
11.	On restoration	150,000,00	,,

Fullarton, W., 13 August 1784, Letter to Madras, Military Sundries, Vol.66, p.226.

would have been well informed, obedient and happy. Their shifting of the systems, without looking into the difficulties and grievances of the people, put the entire kingdom in chaos, disorder, resulting in the fall of revenue, defrauding and the corruption of the state officials and the instability of the king himself. People on their part, expressed their protest in various ways like enmasse evacuation, leaving the lands fallow and evading tax with the result that every change in the set up added to their misery and every increase in taxation took them nearer and nearer to poverty.

CHAPTER V

CUSTOMS AND OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

The customs and other sources of revenue comprised of *sāwyer* or the inland transit duties, sea customs collected from the imported and exported articles, *abkari* from toddy and arrack shops, tributes from the chieftains, professional taxes from the artisans and fines from the criminals. Next to land revenue the *sāwyer* or the inland transit duty was the important source of income to the state. For the convenience of collection of transit duty, the Marathas divided the department into fourteen *choukis*, established at Mayavaram, Kumbakonam, Terucalocherry, Neelavally, Thirumurugal, Terucadajore, Sannamangalam, Collamangudi, Darasuram, Coarunadu, Solempettah, Baradacherry, Sirkali and Ferrvangadu. The *amīna* or the native excise man managed the *choukis*. The *monigar* acted as the head *choukidar*. For every article of consumption, even for the common necessaries of life, they collected inland transit duty. The articles intended for the use of the state and the *pagodas* were exempted from the collection of taxes.[1]

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[1] Alexander Grant, 15 May 1798, Letter to Edward Saunders, Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.3.

The government conferred the right of collection of the sāwyer on the highest bidders.

After getting the right of collection of the suncum , the suncum-hajibs signed a machalika or an agreement and gave an undertaking to pay the amount in two instalments; two fifth at the time of cār and the remaining three fifth at the time of peshānum. He also agreed to pay the collection expenses of twenty chackrams and three kasus per day. The renters divided the area into number of choukies and rented them to subordinate renters. The subordinate renters also agreed to pay 1100 pagodas, as gift to horses and for saddles. If the renters collected more than the prescribed transit duty, they agreed to accept any punishment. Usually in such cases the amount of the suncum was doubled besides a fine of 120 chackrams.[2] Each custom house displayed the rates of the inland transit duties for various articles for the perusal of the public. Newly introduced taxes were also included in the list. If the subordinate renter of any of the subāh imposed heavy duties on the merchandise, the affected merchant appealed for remission to the head renter of the custom house. If any merchant was ignorant of the newly introduced transit duties, he made a representation to the head renter of the choukies. The remission depended upon the goodwill of the head renter. If anyone of the merchant was not satisfied with the decision of the head renter, he appealed to the rajah for remission. The rajah had the right of granting either a full remission or a partial remission or not.[3]

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[2] Agreement given by Ragnnad Sivajee, the head renter of the king (no date), Boards Proceedings, Vol.2, p.808.

Foreign travellers on crossing the boundary of the kingdom had to pay a theervai or tax. During his reign Pratap Singh (1739-1763) issued a proclamation regarding the collection of toll from the foreign nationals. According to that proclamation a foreigner who came on foot paid five pagodas, if he rode on a horse he paid more than five pagodas. An European, who came on a palanquin paid a special tax.[4] The Armenians, the Moors, the Japanese and the Malabaris who crossed the borders of Coleroon, also paid a tax.[5] In the Tanjore Fort, the exaction was even more severe. The inhabitants paid a tax for every article of consumption that passed on to the Fort.[6]

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[3] Tanjore District Records, 11 May to 5 October 1798, Vol.3234, p.360 , Also Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., pp.167-168.

[4] 'Bhonsle Vamsa Charita', Historical Inscriptions/on the Big temple at Tanjore, Translated V.Srinivasachari, Tanjore, 1951, p.110. (Hereinafter referred to as Bhonsle Vamsa Charita).

[5] Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., pp.366-367.

[6] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.4, Bundle.350.

To begin with, the rulers left the renters unchecked, the amount to be collected was not fixed. Regulations were framed in later years but they were ignored due to internal disorders and external aggressions. There was also negligence of trade and commerce, due to obnoxious exactions under various pretexts. In the choukies the officials did not keep any account. This irregularity became a catalyst to induce the renters to exact as much as possible from all the commercial articles that crossed the boundaries of the country. Naturally this had its adverse impact on trade.

Next to the internal transit duty, the sea custom formed an important source of revenue. The country exported, ghee, tamarind, oil, paddy and cloth to the Malabar Coast and Ceylon and imported betalnut from Ramnad, palmyra articles from Jafna and cashewnuts from Madura.[7] The total income from the small ports which were under the control of the Marathas was 3647 pagodas for the year 1780. But here too there was no fixed rate, for at times the rate of custom rose to twelve per cent[8] on articles that passed the town. The Portuguese, the French and the Danes possessed the important ports like Nagapattanam,

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[7] Charles Harris, 7 July 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, p.555.

[8] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.200.

Karaikal, and Tranquebar[9] respectively. From Nagapattanam the government received 500 pagodas, from Karaikal 1500 pagodas and from Tranqubar 1000 pagodas a year as rent from the Europeans who held them.[10]

The abkari revenue consisted of revenue collected from arrack, toddy and foreign liquors. The government did not include collection from opium in this list.[11] In the year 1796 the Maratha government received a sum of 84 pagodas (1344 chackrams) from toddy shops. Normally a renter owned a maximum of twelve shops and paid the amount in twelve instalments. The government fixed the rate per chembu[12] of arrack at one and a half panams. In the government operated shops the managers received direction from the government about the price. Usually they collected eight panams for a chembu of arrack.[13] The manager of the shop received one panam as his remuneration and remitted the rest to the treasury.[14]

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[9] Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., p.367.

[10] Baliga, B.S., Tanjore District Handbook, p.93.

[11] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.198.

[12] Chembu - a bronze vessal measuring about one litre.

[13] Alexander Grant, January 1798, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, pp.5-6.

[14] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.3, Bundle.123.

There were numerous *nāṭṭu-chekkus*[15] engaged in oil pressing work. During the early Maratha regime the *chekku* owners paid a small amount to the government, under the denomination of manufacturer's tax, but during Tuljaji's reign the amount collected was insufficient to meet the expenditure on collection and so the government auctioned the collection of this revenue and conferred the right of collection on the highest bidder in 1780. Commercial products like long cloths, blue romals, red romals, and chequered cloths also did not escape taxation. The indigo farms that were established within the country were also a source of revenue to the government. As the quantity of indigo produced was only little the tax was also less. One pound of indigo fetched three and a half *paṇams* to three and three fourth of a *paṇam* . In the *subāh* of Mayavaram the indigo farms brought in only twenty eight *paṇams* per annum.[16]

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[15] *Nāṭṭu-chekku* - oilpress made up of granite.

[16] Alexander Grant, 11 August 1797, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, pp.7-17.

Sundries or Miscellany

The presents and levies collected from the subordinate chieftains,[17] and the poligars formed the tribute.[18] They became permanent in most of the cases. The Maratha government at Tanjore levied professional tax on all merchants and artisans.[20] This tax was called the *pālapaṭṭaday*. The *cheṭṭy-magama* and *cheṭṭy-pugady* were taxes collected from the *cheṭṭis* who were engaged in commerce and oil pressing. A tax called *tampaṭṭagār* booty was collected from all brass smiths, who sold the articles during different festivals. These articles were exempted from the internal transit duty. The government collected *kāvalporuppu* from all the *kāvalcārās* for occupying the *kāval* office.[21]

Chillara-kūdutal

The inhabitants of Tanjore paid more taxes under the denomination of *chillara-kūdutal* or sundry payments. It was

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17. *Palayavanam zamindars* - They were the descendants of Arantangi Thondaimans.

18. *Tributaries* - The Varappur chiefs belonged to the Iyangar Brahmin community. These chiefs received lands in connection with service to the rajah of Tanjore. Later on Vijaya Raghava Thondaiman annexed Varappur with Pudukkottai.

19. Radhakrishna Aiyer, S., *Op.cit.*, pp.95-97.

20. Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement discovered in Tanjore, 1804, p.62.

21. Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.19-21.

nothing but a form of exaction. During the reign of Shahji, his minister Bavaji Gangadar, being desirous of raising a sum of money for the endowment of two religious institutions convened a meeting of the inhabitants and proposed to them that they should contribute ten gold panams for every hundred kalams of grain for one year. To this proposal some of the inhabitants out of fear accepted, while the rest of the population believed that a contribution of this nature once made would establish a bad precedent. Yet it became a regular source of income.[22] The chillara-kūdutal comprised of a variety of assessments. Pudybob was a tax on all pathakams.[23] The rate of this tax varied from four gold panams to ten gold panams for a hundred kalams of produce.

The inhabitants paid a tax called ghas-pudi in lieu of the government's share of the straw. It was the custom of some villages to provide a certain quantity of straw for the use of the palace at their cost, but the cost of the transportation was higher than the actual value of the straw. As this

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22. Alexander Grant, 15 August, Letter to Edward Saunders, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.1.

23. Charles Harris, 2 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, p.5.

had become an intolerable source of grievance to the inhabitants, the government directed them to pay a small tax called *ghas-pudi* in lieu thereof. The state fixed the amount according to the proximity of the villages from the capital.[24] Villages near to the capital paid one gold *paṇam* for a hundred *kalams* of paddy and villages situated at far-off places one and a half gold *paṇam* for a hundred *kalams* of paddy.[25]

When Tanjore came under the management of the Nawab of the Carnatic, he collected a special tax of one gold *paṇam* for hundred *kalams* of paddy called *allāhaida-pudy*.[26] He also introduced a tax called *nāt-kurch* or *nāt-selavu* to meet the expenses of the sub-division. The rate of this tax was two gold *paṇams* for every hundred *kalams* of gross produce. After restoration Tuljaji collected it in times of war. *Nazer-pudy* or present given by the inferiors to the superiors during festival times was yet, another tax collected during the time of the Nawab's administration. After the kingdom was restored it became a source of income to the state.

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[24] Alexander Grant, 15 August 1798, Letter to Saunders, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3233, p.99.

[25] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue at Tanjore, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.5.

[26] Alexander Grant, 12 August 1797, Letter to Alexander Macleod, Resident at Tanjore, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3244, p.33.

The state also collected a tax as an allowance for the *saṁprīti* or *majumdar* known as *saṁprītivari*, which was collected at the rate of five gold *panams* for every hundred *kalams* of gross produce. *Kajāṇā-jagarir* was a tax collected for the expenses of the *kajāna* or treasury. The inhabitants were directed to pay five gold *paṇams* for a hundred *kalams* of paddy.

Vāikkāl vari was collected for the maintenance and upkeep of the small rivers and *sārkuttahai* for fishing in the rivers and tanks. From the people who came and settled down in the health resorts of Tanjore the government collected a tax called the *sukavāsis*. In order to meet the expenses of the festivals the state raised a sum of money through a small tax called *post-vari*. *Athōdapudy*[28] was levied in lieu of materials required from the country for making rockets for *dasarā festival*.[29]

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[28] *Athōdapudy* - This tax was introduced during Pratap Singh's reign. In subsequent reigns also the same tax was levied and collected.

[29] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue at Tanjore, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.6-7.

The government collected, *sankrāntivari*.[30] in lieu of certain articles required for the *pongal* festival. In some of the villages, the inhabitants gave a present of betel to the *monigars*. Later the state converted this present into a tax known as *pudy-vettalai*. The villages were required to supply white flowers for ceremonies. Since it was a troublesome business, instead, the state collected a tax from the villagers, called *tāmulavari*.[31]

In this respect also, the Marathas followed the foot steps of the Nayaks. Most of the taxes were the same as they existed in the Nayak rule. But their denominations were changed. During the Nayak administration the *suncum* or custom duty was collected under different denominations just as *hedgē-mōṭa-suncum* a tax on a basket of eggs, *mandi-sunka* another tax on shops etc. The Marathas also collected these taxes under the denomination of customs at different points or *choukis*. The Nayaks collected *mugari* , a tax upon the weavers. The Marathas collected the same tax under the denomination of *pāla-paṭṭaday*. *Sārkuttahai* was a tax collected for fishing in the

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30. Sankaranti - a festival. In the Tamil Country it is called Pongal.

31. Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue, **Tanjore Distr Records**, Vol.3201, p.21.

tanks, during the Maratha administration whereas in the Nayak administration the same tax was collected under the denomination of kulavadai. Thus the Marathas adopted the old tax structure with changed nomenclature just as old wine in new bottles. However the administration of customs was not at all satisfactory. Since the customs houses were rented, the renters endeavoured to take every advantage for themselves instead of encouraging the trade of the country. Further, the renters, had sufficient influence to prevent any complaints being made. Even if a complaint reached the king the renters could stop public enquiry. Even the amuldārs could not stop the exaction of the renters because they were completely free of these restrictions.

The administration of customs and other sources of revenue characterised by multifarious taxes with different denominations and unchecked exactions put the merchant class into difficulty. Fearing the ruthless exactions they did not take any initiative to augment the commercial prosperity. The decline of trade and commerce naturally had its adverse impact upon the economy of the state. Thus the failure of the government to put the administration of customs on a sound footing and to relate the prosperity of the commerce and industry with the merchant class ended adversely leading to the downfall of trade and commerce.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

As the other princes of the age did the rajahs of Tanjore utilised the public funds on items like palace establishments, temple establishments, armed establishments and maramat works such as construction of dams and canals and maintenance of water courses. As the expenditure normally exceeded the income, they found themselves in financial instability and want of punctuality in the payment of salaries affected the efficiency of the administration.

The Marathas however maintained an account system of their own. They prepared a budget consisting of estimated income and real income and anticipated expenditure of the state.[1] The revenue collected from the people was deposited in the treasury known as the kajānā . The daftari[2] in the kajānā maintained an account for the income. The kharcpōta or the spending treasury was under the supervision of the parvānika, the officer in-charge of the public expenditure, who maintained cash accounts for each item of expenditure. The cash was drawn with the knowledge of the *parvānikā*.[3] Whenever an expenditure occurred, it was the custom of the times to prepare two receipts of which one was given to the officer and the other to the party requiring it. Along with the receipts the *parvānikā* kept copies of royal orders[4] authorising payments.

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[1] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Tanjore Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.I, p.69.

[2] daftari - Supra, p.64.

The Palace Establishment

The palace establishment consisted of the king, the queen, the widows of deceased kings, the concubines, uncrowned princes, the relatives of the queens and others. In 1780 king Tuljaji spent 75,000 *pagodas*[5] apart from his private expenditure. of 2,00,000 *pagodas* on his palace establishment.[6] This amounted to twenty two and a half per cent of the public income.

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[3] *Shelvankar Report*, pp.9-10.

[4] Captain William Blackburne, 25 February 1803, Letter to Lord Clive, Tanjore Agency Correspondence, Vol.3476, pp.185-186.

[5] David and Jordan, 10 August 1781, Letter to Charles Smith Governor and Members of the Select Committee, Fort St. George, M.C., Vol.36, pp.2603-2694.

[6] Archbald Campbell in Council, 16 January 1787, *Ibid.*, Vol.115, pp.72-78.

The queen mother, the wife of Tuljaji, and the uncrowned adopted son Sarfoji II, enjoyed twenty per cent of the state income as their personal expenditure.[7] The state paid for the expenditure of the near relatives of the princes and the queens. This consumed four and a half per cent of the total income of the state. Muttoji, a relative of Tuljaji's wife, enjoyed a grant of 1043 star _pagodas_.[8] The four queens of Tuljaji consumed 25,000 star _pagodas_ which amount included expenditure on the numerous attendants of the queens.[9] Thus the palace establishment swallowed forty seven per cent of the total income of the state. The rest was spent on temples, military and other items.

The Nayaks restricted their expenditure on palace establishment within the income that they derived from the _manōvarti_ land or crown land.[10] The Marathas who occupied the kingdom

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7. John Chamier, Secretary, Fort St.George, 24 November 1790, Report to John Huddleston and Members of the Board of Assumed Revenue, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.1, p.18.

8. _Ibid._, Vol.I, pp.287-288.

9. Memorandum to the allowances paid to the four Bai Sahibs, _Ibid._, Vol.I, pp.298-303.

10. Venkataramanayya, N., _Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar_, p.35.

after them also had separate lands for the palace. From the royal garden in the subāh of Trivadi, they received 8175 star pagodas. From the other subāhs also they received an equal amount.[11] But they made no attempt to check the unnecessary expenditure incurred on the royal household. Also they did not curtail the unnecessary expenditure on the relatives of the women in the harem. When the money that was allotted to the palace establishment proved insufficient, they used the money which was kept for meeting the expenditure on other items of state administration. Consequently for want of money for essential purposes, the administration was allowed to suffer.

Temple Establishments

The temple establishment of the Marathas consisted of temples choultries, charitable institutions and Brahmins. The grants to charitable institutions and temples were enormous. The choultries built in all the important places of the country received grants or manyams from the government. In the year 1790, the state spent nearly eight per cent of its total income i.e. 60427 star pagodas[12] on the temples and its trusts.

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[11] Assumed Revenue Records, 5 August 1791, Vol.2, pp.583-584.

[12] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, Letter to Fort St.George, Tanjore proceedings, Vol.1, pp.66-109.

Further, the government gave an allowance called the mohines for the expenses of the temples. It treated religious leaders as state guests and met the expenditure thereof from the state treasury.[13] Further the king gave an allowance amounting to 200 chackrams from the treasury to the Brahmins who sang in praise of river kaveri during the month of October to prevent inundation. The Brahmins who went round aswadam or a holy tree received an yearly allowance of thirtyone star pagodas (315 chackrams). The Brahmins who read prayer on other occasions received a manyam of 2500 chackrams from the state.[14] Besides this they enjoyed a portion of mēlvāram[15] along with rent free lands.

The expenditure on the administrative establishment was also there. This included expenditure on a section of the revenue department. This amounted to 1441 paṇams. The other sections of the revenue department also consumed considerable amount. Besides these the employees of the revenue department enjoyed *manyam* lands and free gifts.[16] In fact the Marathas considered it as their responsibility to maintain religious establishment at the expense of the state. This resulted in a considerable expenditure of recurrent nature.

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[13] Charles Harris, Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.90. Also Tanjore Collectorate Records, Vol.3415, p.325.

[14] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Memorandum to John Chamiers, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.1, p.70.

[15] Charles Harris, 29 January 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, p.3.

The Public Works

The government spent a portion of the income on public works depending upon favourable circumstances. When the tenants repaired the bunds of the paddy fields and banks of the channels, it was called *kudimaramat*.[17] In such cases the tenants defrayed the expenditure from the *kudivāram*. The state repaired the banks of the canals and tanks under state *maramat*. In case the government did not undertake the work, it gave an allowance called the *caracuṭṭu*[18] to all land holders. Towards the expenses of raising the banks of water courses and deepening the rivers the government granted allowances called *odappucaṭṭu*, *madavu-*

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[16] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.1, pp.60-61.

[17] Charles Harris Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.87.

[18] *Caracuttu* - construction of bund of banks or lakes.

kattu and aruvukattu.[19] It permitted neeranicum or a fixed allowance to the watchmen of the water courses and nuctycaracattu or fixed allowance for raising the banks of the paddy fields in certain villages.[20] The account of the period suggests that the state spent 48,409 chackrams in the year 1790[21] on this item. In times of need it issued tukkavi loans to the farmers to enable them to purchase agricultural implements, for continuous exactions reduced them so poor.

Armed establishment

External threats and internal disorders demanded the maintenance of a large military establishment. As a result the expenditure incurred on the military was very heavy. Since the Marathas established a military rule in Tanjore, it became imperative for them to keep a large standing army ready to take the field at short notice. Since the climatical condition was unsuited for horse breeding, they purchased horses from Sind and Arabia and spent a lot of money on training for warlike purposes. A *fakir* or horse-keeper and a grass cutter were attached to each horse on state expenditure.[23] Each horse had a cavalry man. The state paid for him besides the *manyam* land. Further they recruited soldiers to the infantry and trained them in the Maratha method of warfare. For training them in the *āsanas* they needed additional staff. This expenditure too was borne by the state exchequer. Too many wars of the Marathas also compelled them to get the help of local chieftains. The soldiers furnished by the chieftains were paid in cash immediately after war. This also involved them in great financial strain. Thus the military department of the Marathas accounted for the expenditure of nearly fifty per cent of the state income.

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[19] odappucattu - A Tamil word means repairing the broken bunds or banks of the rivers and lakes.
madavukattu - madavu means sluices, kattu means construct.
aruvukattu - aruvu means side, kattu means construct.

[20] Charles Harris, 9 June 1800, Letter to William Petrie, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, pp.355-356.

[21] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 15 November 1790, Letter to John Chamiers, Military Secretary at Tanjore, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.1, p.69.

[22] Resolutions of the Board in reply to Messrs George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 6 December 1790, Letter to Fort St.George, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.1, p.94.

From the very beginning of their administration, the Marathas of Tanjore paid a tribute to the Mughals who claimed overlordship on the kingdom. In the later periods, the Nawab of the Carnatic as a vassal of the Mughal *padshah* demanded four lakhs of rupees as the tribute and henceforth it became a regular payment.[24] In 1749 the French and their allies drift into a conflict with Tanjore. They demanded from Pratap Singh the financial as well as military aid for the capture of Trichinopoly but Pratap Singh evaded.[25] Yet Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic insisted that Pratap Singh should pay one crore of rupees and cede the village near Karaikal to the French.[26] As the prospects of any settlement appeared remote Chanda Sahib attacked Tanjore. After three months' resistance Pratap Singh agreed to a settlement and to pay seventy lakhs of rupees for which he gave a bond for fifty six lakhs of rupees and paid the rest in ready money. He also made a donation of 6,60,00,000 to the French army led by Abdul Rahman.[27] Pratap Singh was forced to part with the amount when the French pressed him during the Third Carnatic War (1756-1763). Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic also demanded a large sum of money, being the balance of arrears from 1748. He also demanded the cession of Koilody and Elangad.[28] Ultimately a settlement was effected under the auspices of the Madras Council in 1762. This treaty left Pratap Singh poorer by 22,00,000 of rupees besides five lakhs given as present.[29] To procure the friendship of the Company the rajah paid 55,000 rupees in 1768.[30] For maintaining English soldiers for the protection of Tanjore, the rajah was required to pay two lakhs.[31]

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[23] Letter from Fort St.George, 15 February 1799, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3462, p.327.

[24] Fort St.George Diary and Consultation Book, 26 August 1791, p.41.

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[25] Thomas Saunders, 4 September 1749, Letter to Mohammad Ali, Political Country Correspondence, Vol.3, p.34.

[26] Rajayyan, K., A History of British Diplomacy in Tanjore, pp.30-31.

[27] Dodwell, H.(ed.), The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol.6, p.362.

[28] Mohammad Ali Nawab, Letter to Madras Council received on 13 January 1762, M.C.C., Vol.10, p.31.

As the demands on Tanjore increased, the king was obliged to borrow money from the rapacious renters. However, Sir Archbald Campbell, the Governor of Madras granted concessions to him allowing him to pay the subsidy of 4,60,000 rupees in nine monthly instalments.[32] Amir Singh who succeeded Tuljaji, had

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[29] Aitchison, C.U., *Op.cit.*, Vol.5, No.45.

[30] Rajah of Tanjore, Letter to Du Pre, Governor of Madras, received 12 May 1770, M.C.C., Vol.18, p.165.

[31] Josias Du pre's remark on the Nawab's letter of the 26 November 1770, *Ibid.*, Vol.18, pp.239-240.

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November	-	20,000
December	-	50,000
January	-	50,000
February	-	90,000
April	-	1,00,000
May	-	50,000
July	-	40,000
August	-	30,000
September	-	30,000

Archbald Campbell, 23 December 1786, Letter to the rajah of Tanjore, *Ibid.*, Vol.35, pp.240-242.

to face the same problem of demands.[33] During the 'Third Mysore War (1756-1763)', Tanjore had to contribute nearly four fifths of its revenue. No wonder the kingdom experienced a financial crisis and the ruler found it difficult to run the administration.[34] Since there was no money in the treasury he could not pay the salary to the troops.

The soldiers clamouring for arrears of payment usually assembled at the house of the principal officer or at the nearby pagoda and took an oath to go on dharna[35]. They paraded through the street with lifted arms and pitched a tent near the rajah's palace and stayed there for three days. At the end of the third day they observed starvation and ridiculed the rajah's administration,[36] and committed depredation.[37] When the dharna was on they refused permission to the ministers to go in or out.[38] In times of war the soldiers even deserted their commanders and joined the enemies.[39]

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[33] Amir Singh, Letter to the Court of Directors,(no date), Ibid., Vol.41, pp.204-220.

[34] William Medows in Council, 24 September 1790, M.C.Vol.139, p.3348.

[35] Showing the grievances through a defiant remonstrance to the ridicule public authority.

[36] Resident at Tanjore, 17 December 1798, Letter to Josiah Webb, Secretary, M.C., Vol.246, pp.8055-8060.

[37] Benjamin Torrin, the Resident at Tanjore, 17 December 1798, Letter to Major Innes, Commanding Officer at Tanjore, Ibid., Vol.246, pp.8094-8098.

[38] Tanjore District Records, Major Innes, 19 July 1799, Letter to Benjamin Torrin, the Resident, Vol.3464, pp.546-548.

[39] Rajayyan, K., Society and Administration in the Carnatic, p.28.

The king considered the dharna as an act of military indiscipline. On such occasion, he used to send for the leader of the soldiers and tried to compromise with him, agreeing to disburse their arrears.[40] When the soldiers refused to agree to a compromise, the ruler enforced necessary preventive measures to curb their activities. He engaged the services of the head hircārās and the faithful soldiers to prevent the mutineers from leaving the kingdom till a compromise was reached.[41] The demands of the English and the Nawabs coupled with the rebellious attitude of the soldiers led the successive kings of Tanjore to approach various money lenders for financial assistance. This paved the way for the breakdown of the administration.

Loans and Interests

Unable to manage the heavy demands made by the Nawab and later on by the English Company, the kings were forced to borrow[42] both from the British and the Indian nationals.[43] At the time of his accession to the throne Amir Singh inherited a debt of 7,11,753 star pagodas.[44] In times of crisis the kings were forced by necessity to borrow money from various foreign money lenders for a very high rate of interest. .[45] This naturally led to the depletion of the treasury. The English money lenders were willing to help the king, as this opened to them the door, leading to the devouring of the kingdom which they did finally.

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[40] Tanjore District Records, Major Innes, 19 July 1799, Letter to Benjamin Torin, the Resident, Vol.3464, p.551.

[41] Benjamin Torrin, the Resident at Tanjore, 17 December 1798, Letter to Major Innes, M.C., Vol.246, p.8055.

[42] During 1764-1765 the rajahs debt was 5,50,000 pagodas. During 1772-1773 the king's debt to Charles Drake and Major Innes was 184233 star pagodas. The rajah of Tanjore's debt to Charles Drake as lodged by his Highness the Nawab of Walajah, Ibid., Vol.115, p.307.

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[43] The details of rajah Tuljaji's debt are as follows:

Alexander Bordie	-	101254	pagodas
Duncan Baine	-	34078	,,
George Ramsay	-	20000	,,
George Macallans	-	72000	,,
Captain James Burrow	-	36808	,,
James White	-	6086	,,
Rev.Schwarts	-	1000	,,

Edward Garres and Webb on Tanjore rajah's debt, Ibid., Vol.119, pp.260-266.

[44] The rajah of Tanjore's debt lodged by the Nawab of Walajah, Ibid., Vol.115, p.307.

[45] The rate of interest agreed by the rajah to various individuals are as follows:

Alexander Bordie	-	14.5	per cent
George Ramsay	-	12.2	,,
Duncan Baine	-	12.5	,,
George Macallans	-	12.5	,,
James Burrow	-	12.7	,,
James White	-	11.4	,,

Edward Garres and Webb on Tanjore rajah's debt, 9 August 1787, Ibid., Vol.119, pp.260-261.

Comparing the Maratha administration with the Nayaks system it must be stated that the Nayaks usually experienced no financial crisis during their reign as the Marathas had. The Nayak kings were able to adjust their income and expenditure in such a way that there was always surplus in the treasury. They were not dragged into unnecessary wars by the other powers. On the contrary the Marathas indulged in unnecessary wars resulting in the draining of the treasury. They were forced to buy peace at extorbitant cost. The depredatory invasions of Chanda Sahib, Murari Row, Hyder Ali and the subsequent occupation of Mohammad Ali added to the burden. Carnatic was also not very affluent during this time. The Nawabs of the Carnatic out of necessity to fill their coffers plundered Tanjore. Even Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic was reduced to such an extent that he could not pay his own soldiers. In the above circumstances the Maratha kings were only pawns in the game of political supremacy with no will of their own. It can be truly said that they were more sinned than sinning.

CHAPTER VII

THE MILITARY ORGANISATION

The Marathas believed that the very existence of their kingdom in the Tamil Country depended upon the strength and efficiency of the military system. So they gave importance to the armed establishments. Their military organisation consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery. There were elephants and camels too, though they did not form a vital branch. The old forts served as the military stations. Besides the regular army the Marathas utilised the services of the mercenary soldiers belonging mostly of the Kallar tribes. As and when there was necessity, the kings recruited deserters from enemy camps too, but promotions to the higher rank was denied to them.

Divisions of the Army

For the convenience of training and managing, the Marathas divided the army into many divisions. Sections of the army were commanded by officers of various grades. In 1781 the Maratha army consisted of 1000 horses, 9000 soldiers, 7000 privates including 2000 Kallars.[1] Besides them, they utilised the services of the Arabs and the Europeans. Every chief supplied his quota to the State.[2]

The Maratha cavalry formed an important division of the army. Though South India was not a home of horses, the kings imported them from Persia, Arabia and Sind. The climatic condition of South India was not conducive for horse-breeding, for as Marco Polo observed, "there is no possibility of breeding good horses in this country as hath been often proved by trial. For even when a great blood mare here has been converted by a great blood horse, the produce is nothing but wretched wiry legged weed not fit to ride".[3] The Marathas carefully trained the imported horses and made them fit for war service. The trained Maratha cavalry was noted for its swiftness and

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1. Dent, C.B., Cuddalore, 19 August 1781, Letter to Macartney Governor, Fort St.George, M.C., Vol.76, pp.2395-2396. Also Intelligence from Tanjore (no date) Ibid., Vol.146, pp.781-784.

2. Josias Du Pre, 11 February 1771, Letter to Warren Hastings, M.C.C., Vol.41, pp.41-42.

3. Marco Polo, Yule (ed.), Travels of Marco Polo, 3rd edition, London, 1903, Vol.II, p.342.

efficiency.[4] It is stated that the local powers were terrified of the agility and bravery with which the cavalry charged the hostile forces.[5]

The Marathas of Tanjore employed two kinds of cavalry, namely, the regular and the irregular. The state provided horses for the regulars and met the expenditure incurred on them. The subēdārs selected the horses which were found fit to render war service. After enrolment the subēdārs branded the horses and then handed over them to the horse-keepers. A grass cutter was attached with each horse-keeper, whose duty was to feed and saddle the horses and keep them fit for war service.[6] On ceremonial occasions these horse-keepers caparisoned them fully and placed plates on their forehead.[7] The dalavoy was the head of the army organisation. Below him a sardar commanded one thousand and above horses and a subēdār commanded five hundred to seven hundred horses. Generally a jamēdār commanded hundred horses but a jamēdār of great merit commanded three hundred horses.[8] A havildār commanded twenty five horses and their keepers.[9]

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[4] Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., stanza, 32.

[5] Governor Fort St.George, 18 Febuary 1757, Letter to the King of Tanjore, M.C.C., Vol.5, p.62.

[6] From Fort St.George, Letter to Benjamin Torin, Resident at Tanjore, 15 February 1799, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3462 , pp.315-327.

[7] Sewell, R., A Forgotten Empire, (Reprint) London, 1910, pp.275-277.

The infantry formed the largest unit in the army organisation. Many local people served in the army. The rulers kept two kinds of armies, the standing army and the irregulars. The standing army was composed of the Kallars, the Muslims and the Maravas. The state recruited them and maintained them throughout the year with food, clothing and pay. The irregular soldiers were otherwise called the feudal levies which the poligars and the local chieftains supplied.[10] They rendered war service at short notice and were always under the command of the local chieftains. A well trained soldier was described as superb, solemn and heroic. In the battlefield, they were very ferocious. It is stated that in war tactics there was no match to them.[11] The warriors were generally devoted to their officers and to the king.[12]

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[8] The rajah of Tanjore, 23 October 1756, Letter to Fort St. David, M.C.C., Vol.4, pp.349-351.

[9] Thomas Perkinson Hakrey, 4 July 1785, Letter to the Court of Directors, Military Sundries, Vol.65, p.6.

[10] Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., stanza 18.

The standing army consisted of several regiments. The *dalavoy* was the head of the military department of the state.[13] Below him there were *sardars*. As in the cavalry, a *sardar* commanded 1000 men. A *sara-sardar* commanded 3000 foot and 1500 horses. A *subēdār* commanded the forces of a *subāh*, irrespective of its strength.[14] A *jamēdār* commanded one hundred to three hundred soldiers.[15] Below the *havildār* there were naiks,[16] each of them commanded four soldiers.[17]

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11. *Ibid*., stanza, 33.

12. A Tanjore Jamedar, 26 April 1759, Letter to Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.C.C., Vol.7, pp.130-131.

13. Joseph Smith, 12 November 1771, Letter to Josias Du Pre, Governor, Fort St.David., M.C., Vol.40, p.973.

14. Intelligence from the Nawab, 11 February 1771, Letter to Josias Du Pre, Governor, *Ibid*., Vol.41, pp.41-42.

15. Thomas Perkinson Hakney, 4 July 1785, Letter to the Court of Directors, Military Sundries, Vol.65, p.13, Also Rajah of Tanjore, 23 October 1756, Letter to Fort St.David, M.C.C., Vol.4, pp.348-351.

16. *naiks* - Naik was the designation of a provincial governor during the Vijayanagar period. But later on these officers were degraded to signify the commanders from twenty to hundred persons or irregular soldiers with matchlocks, pikes, or swords or targets. The Mohammadans named such infantries as the Carnatics. Mark Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Vol.I, Second edition, Madras, 1869, p.149.

17. Major Innes, 19 July 1799, Letter to Benjamin Torin, Resident, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3464, p.435.

Besides these military contigents, there were faujdars representing the government in the subāh. The amuldārs of the māhānams also extended their military service to the state. The kiledārs of the forts were purely military officers in command of the garrisons.[18] The rajahs of their deputies kept muster rolls,[19] and acquittance register showing the disbursement of salary to the soldiers. Once in a week they checked the guard's reports, maintained daily cash balance of the various units and settled monthly accounts.[20] In fact the Marathas divided their army in conformity with the practice that existed in the south during their times. No marked difference was made in the existing system of military organisation. But the cavalry of the Marathas was noted for its ability.

Recruitment and Training

The rajah appointed the commanders and other higher officials of the army taking due care in the process of selection.

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18. Baliga, B.S., Tanjore District Guide, p.90.

19. Government Orders from Fort St.George, 10 July 1786, 1786, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3446, pp.47-54.

20. Shelvankar Report, p.6.

Usually preference was given to young and energetic persons, skilful swords men and soldiers of longstanding military career.[21] Men hailing from families with martial traditions were also recruited. Deserters from other military camps were permitted to join as *sibbandis*. In the *subāhs* the *subēdārs* recruited soldiers to serve in the military of that area. At the time of need raw recruits were also taken in. While recruiting these men to the armed establishment, a thorough enquiry was made regarding the parentage of the recruits.[22] The *havildārs* and the *naiks* trained new recruits in war tactics. They used many words of command such as *vāmapārat* for left turn, *sthirā* for halt, *uthisthā* for stand, *yathāsthithā* for as you were and *samvīra* for sit. They taught the soldiers *āsanās* like *kukutāsanāthān*, *vīrāsanathān* and *hanumanthāsanathān*.[2]

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[21] Ramakrishna Kavi, *Op.cit.*, stanza, 40.

[22] Report of the Board of Officers, 7 April to 1 May 1786, on the Tanjore Sibbandis and Trichinopoly Independents, Military Sundries, Vol.69, pp.50-51.

[23] *Kukutāsanathān* - *kukutāsana* , imitating the sitting posture of a cock.

virasānathā - *āsanās* for soldiers.

hanumanthāsanā - hanuman-monkey; imitating the postures of a monkey.

These *āsanās* enabled the soldiers to keep their body and mind fit and well balanced for war service. In the subāhs the *subēdārs* and the *faujdārs* who recruited soldiers trained them for war service.[24]

The Marathas relied only on the physical fitness of the soldiers. So they did not give training in the use of arms and ammunitions. In the pitched battles they found it difficult to face a well trained army. Further the soldiers were accustomed to use country explosives. When modern weapons came in use they could not handle them and hence they suffered during the later period.

The officers remained in office as long as they enjoyed the good will of the rajah. Any undesirable conduct which earned his displeasure, led to dismissal however efficient he might be. At times intrigues led to the rise and fall of the public servants. Manoji was an able and efficient general but he fell a victim, to palace intrigues.[25] Seid the

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24. Shantaji Ingley, 17 October 1799, Letter to Blackburne, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3464, pp.625-626.

25. Srinivasan, C.K., *Op.cit.*, pp.88-89 and p.241.

kiledar,[26] earned the displeasure of the king and that was the cause for the end of his life.[26] Soldiers were promoted on the basis of their skill.[27]

The regulars received their pay annually. On appointment the state and the soldiers entered into an agreement. This was to prevent the soldiers from deserting the country engaged in war and joining the enemy camp. As per the agreement the government issued a *paper sōḍy* [28] to enable them to receive their annual pay from the *bakshi*. In the event of his dismissal the soldier surrendered the *paper soḍy* and received the full payment for the whole year.[29]

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[26] Seid, the kiledar was the commandant of the forces of Tanjore palace. During the reign of Pratap Singh he sent a note to Chanda Sahib to reach the Tanjore fort at the early morning and enter into the fort when it opens. Kasim, Seid's brother came to know of this evil design and informed the king about it. The king got the letter written by Seid to Chanda Sahib with the help of spies and executed Seid with the help of the nobles, ravaged his house, uprooted his family and confiscated his property. *Bhonsle Vamsa Charita*, pp.87-89.

[27] Report of the Board of Officers, 7 April to Monday 1 May 1786, on the Tanjore Sibbendis and Trichinopoly independents, Military Sundries, Vol.69, pp.48-51.

[28] *Paper sody* - An identification card used by the state to the soldiers.

[29] Shantaji Ingley, 1799, Letter to William Blackburne, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3464, p.87.

The officials of the military department had no fixed pay scale. The rates of their remuneration varied from rank to rank and officer to officer. The pay and allowance depended upon the good will of the king and the merit of the soldiers. The military officers of the royal line received better pay and more allowance than others did. A gunner received four rupees and two aṇas[30] and a trooper received three rupees and six anas per month.[31] There were troopers who received grants of lands called *mokāsā* for their service but the soldiers stationed outside for military assistance to the allies or to wage war received their pay in Tanjore *panam*.[33] However in the exchange of Tanjore *panam* in local currency the soldiers had to experience much difficulties. To tide over these troubles the soldiers stationed north of Coleroon paid premium to the sowcars[34] and got them exchanged.[35] The loss suffered in value created mutinous tendency among the troops.[36] The naiks who commanded the collery peons received four chackrams as their pay. A collery peon received three chackrams. In addition to it he received one panam as bata for a month.[37] The highest paid military officer was the Srimant who was an expert adviser on military strategem.[38]

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[30] *aṇas* - Sixteen *aṇas* form a rupee. One *aṇa* was valued *$1\frac{3}{4}$ chackrams*. Twenty eight *chackrams* form a rupee. This coin was in circulation in India even after independence.

[31] *Shelvankar Report*, p.6.

[32] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.13, Bundle.127, Sub-bundle.21.

[33] *Tanjore panam* - The exchange value of the Tanjore *panam* was less in other states. In the north of Coleroon, the exchange value of it was twenty two and a half *panams* per star pagoda. But the soldiers encamped outside Tanjore had to pay twenty four to twenty five *panams* for a star pagoda. This gave much trouble to the soldiers stationed outside Tanjore.

The Mercenaries

Maintaining a large standing army caused financial strain to the kingdom. The Marathas therefore reduced the strength of the army to a reasonable size and for the rest they relied upon mercenary soldiers, who had a martial career. During those days when disorder was common and discipline was slack it was not difficult to secure such recruits. In order to conciliate the higher class and the followers of the king, they disbanded a major portion of the soldiers from the army and gave preference to the Marathas in recruitment. Consequently the native soldiers lost their means of livelihood.[39] Turned to be mercenaries and fortune-seekers they extended their service to the military adventures in return for large sums of money. A section of the disbanded soldiers joined the Kallars.[40]

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[34] Sowcars - Native moneylenders.

[35] Col.Fullarton, 7 January 1785, address to the Court of Directors, Military Sundries, Vol.66, p.133.

[36] Tanjore District Records, 19th August 1749 to 9 December 1784, Vol.3441, p.395.

[37] Wallace, Collector of Tanjore, 3 July 1805, Letter to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, pp.183-185.
Also Tanjore Collectorate Records, Vol.3415, p.320.

[38] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.8, Bundle.275, Sub-bundle.13.

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[39] Phythian Adams, The Madras Infantry, Madras, 1943, pp.108-111.

[40] The Kallar or the Colleries were brave people belonging to the Kallan and other depradating tribe. In Tanjore they were called the Thekathiar means southerners. They were experts in the use of lance and also in throwing a curved stick called valarithadi, otherwise called colleri-stick. It was about 30" in curvature. E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.III, Delhi, 1975, pp.55. A body of the resistance offered by the prey, they valued the booty which they were in pursuit of. They went around with club, daggers and swords. Divided into small parties each took a portion of the plunder. From interruption they rarely arrived in safety to their jungle homes with their plunder. Letter from Wallace, Collector of Tanjore, 3 July 1805 to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, pp.79-83.

To eke out their daily bread the Kallars joined the service of the poligars. The rulers utilised their services in times of war.[41] During normal times they cleared forests and constructed military roads on daily wages. In times of war the mercenaries received their remuneration from the state directly if they were called upon to serve in battle fields. After the war was over the kings disbanded them and they joined their local chieftains. The poligars utilised their services in their mutual conflicts for committing depredations.[42]

The merceneries used their own arms and tools. The state did not provide horses to these soldiers. To a private soldier a well grown and healthy horse was an asset. The meticulous care he gave in rearing the horse made it appear equal to that of his commander.[43] The soldiers who rode on these horses were called the shiledars.[44] One who collected a hundred such horses received the title of jamēdār and was privileged to command them. In some cases the government assigned lands in lieu of pay from the tenants.[45]

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[41] E.W.Fallow Field, 12 February 1792, Letter to David Kalibarton and William Balfoas, Fort St.George, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.3, p.78.

[42] Wallace, Collector of Tanjore, 3 July 1805, Letter to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, pp.79-83.

[43] T.P.Hakney, 4 July 1785, Letter to the Court of Directors, Military Sundries, Vol.65, pp.5-6.

[44] Shiledar means equipment holder, ie., a soldier who finds his own horse and arms.

[45] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.169.

Forts

The Marathas strengthened the defence of the country with forts as the centres. The forts were located in such a way that garrison could be sent from one fort to another to ensure mutual security.[46] The important forts were Mariammankoil, Trivalandore, Adambore, Sallymangalam, Anjunad, Cenje Pettah, Amma Pettah, Vallum,[47] Nauland and Pandanallur, Devicottai,[48] Kumbakonam, Mayavaram, Sirkali, Mannakoil, Kilanelly, Needamangalam, Fakeertope, Ellancad,[49] Papanasam and Nagore. Lofty walls with watch towers, either round or square in shape, gave a magnificent look to several of the forts.[50] Armed peons guarded the avenue leading to the fort. People could enter into it only after obtaining a passport from the *kiledar*. Usually *jamēdār*, *havildār* and *naiks* were stationed in a fort. Besides there were *sabnis* to keep the account and check the muster rolls of the garrisons of the fort. The *kārkāṇis* or the commissary looked after the provisions for the garrison. There were *rāyasams* or secretaries to the *kiledar* of the fort to send and receive letters and *hircārās* to carry messages.[51] On hearing intelligence or news of an impending attack the *kiledar* who was in charge of the fort sent an alarm note through the *hircārās* to the other forts for immediate assistance against the enemy.[52] In the forts the Marathas stored up bows and arrows, spears, swords and pikes.[53] Also they kept *muskets*, *matchlocks*, lances, daggers, curved and ribbed edged swords, knives and poniards and fire arms.[54] The indigenous arms were made in the armoury called *sankirama-paṇḍār*.[55] The *dimati* was the superintending authority of the armoury. A large body of men assisted him in the manufacture of arms. The men who worked in the *sankiramapandār* received their remuneration from the *dimati*.[56] He always maintained an account, with the help of the *samprīti* and *majumdars* and produced them on demand. An officer called the *karkāni* maintained the war materials. Under the strict supervision of the *karkāni*, the assistants wrote the accounts. The *hircārās* assisted him to keep an eye on the workers of the armoury. Every worker of the factory was checked before leaving the last gate. If any worker of the factory was caught with a stolen article he was fined.[57]

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[46] General Stuart, 9 May 1779, Letter to Lt.General George Harris, Srirangapatnam, Military Sundries, Vol.109,p.191.

[47] Vallum - Vallum was the key military centre of the Marathas, lying on the midway between Tanjore and Trichinopoly. The English by the Treaty of 1771 directed the rajah of Tanjore to destroy it. But he did not. Translation of a paper containing the Articles agreed to by the rajah of Tanjore, 20 October 1771, M.C.C., Vol.40, p.937.

[48] Devicottai- Situated north of Tanjore it was about a mile in circumference, with walls 18' high and was flanked by projecting towers, some circular and some square. Srinivasan, C.K., *Op.cit.*, p.263.

[49] Ellancad - Ellancad was ceded to the English and got back by the Treaty of 1771.

[50] Bhonsle Vamsa Charita, p.65.

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[51] Sharma, S.K., *Founding of the Maratha Freedom*, Bombay, 1964, p.96.

[52] Broughton, T.D., *Constables Oriental Miscellany*, Vol.4, London, 1892, p.15.

[53] Ramakrishna Kavi, *Op.cit.*, Stanza, 40, 2-4.

[54] Thurston, E(ed.), *Op.cit.*, Vol.5, pp.17 -18. Also Egerton, W., *An Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, London, 1880, pp.1-2.

[55] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.9, Bundle.57.

The March of the Army

In the event of a threat or news from the *hircārās* about an impending attack the rajah ordered the *bakshi* or paymaster general to clear the arrears of pay. The *sardārs* presented the soldiers under their command and cleared their arrears.[58] Thereupon the rajah called his commanders and consulted them on defence. In the meeting at the palace they worked out the strategy.[59] On declaration of war he issued orders to the store-keepers and other officials to accompany the army. At a meeting of heroes of previous battles, he gave them betel of honours and bade them farewell.[60] As soon as the commanders received the orders of the king, they beat the war-drums, blew bugles and started the march.[61] Friends and comrades at arms accompanied the commanders. Infantry, cavalry, and war elephants marched along with them.[62] The dabir's regiments also joined them.[63] Usually the purōhit also joined their march.[64] While marching on the soldiers shouted Har-Har-Mahadev.[65] Beating their war drums and blowing their horns the soldiers continued the march. The hircārās went in advance and obtained reports about the hostile movements[67] and showed the route for the expedition.[68] At an admissible distance from the war field the army formed its encampment which looked like a large bazaar. Different chiefs encamped on either side of the principal street. Regularity and cleanliness of the streets were very seriously looked into. The shops, which composed the bazaar, were formed mostly of blankets or coarse cloth stretched over bamboo poles. At the door of every camp was a fire for the smoke coming out of it was sufficient to drive away the flies and keep the warriors and their family members warm during winter. The soldiers had their meal at night. They had merriments like singing and dancing and after this they smoked opium and other supariferous drugs.[69] In times of war a few resolute and able bodied men were pressed into service to wake up the soldiers from the effect of the intoxicants and to induce them to get ready for the battle.[70]

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[56] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.8, Bundle.355, Sub-bundle.29.

[57] *Ibid*., Vol.5, Bundle.76, Sub-bundle.1.

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[58] Josias Du Pre, 11 February 1771, Letter to Warren Hastings. Also an Intelligent paper from the Nawab to Josias Du Pre Governor, 11 February 1771, M.C., Vol.41, pp.41-42.

[59] Manoji, Maratha Commander, 13 Febraury 1757, Letter to the Governor, Fort St.George, M.C.C., Vol.5, pp.55-59.

[60] Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., Stanza, 55.

[61] Ibid., Stanza, 32.

[62] Ibid., Stanza, 59.

[63] Josias Du Pre, 11 February 1771, Letter to Warren Hastings, M.C.C., Vol.41, pp.41-42.

[64] Sharma, S.K., Founding of the Maratha Freedom, p.11.

[65] Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., Stanza, 38.

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66. Ibid., Stanza, 40.

67. General Stuart, 11 March 1799, Letter to Mornington Secret Consultations, Vol.7, p.269.

68. Lt.Col.Brown Commanding Southern Division, 29 March 1799, Ibid., Vol.7, p.285.

69. Broughton, T.D., Op.cit., Vol.4, pp.19-30.

70. Rajayyan, K., Administration and Society in the Carnatic, p.27.

When the army was on its march to the field a large bazaar accompanied every detachment and remained with them any number of days. Each sepoy carried with him his whole family which subsisted on his pay. This made the army unwieldy and affected the mobility.[71] This needed frequent encampments and incurred heavy expenditure to the state. Further, for the quick transportation of the war materials the state forced the villagers into service. This affected the normal life of the villagers. If the army encamped in the māhāṇam of a particular amuldar he forced the people to meet the needs of the army and put them into difficulties.[72]

Methods of Warfare

The Marathas gave due importance to the tactics of war. After encampment the commanders sent a selected band of men to the nearby choultry or hiding place to ascertain the position and strength of the enemy.[73] After making a careful study about the situation of the enemy they moved in strength into the field. The forces proclaimed their approach to the battle field by beating the huge war drums.[74] Shouting _Har-Har-Mahadev_[75] the soldiers with their lengthy whiskers of jet black colour and twisted swords and drawn out spears ran to the field and charged their enemy.[76] Columns of troops shot arrows, threw spears or daggers and splashed swords, knives and poniards on the enemy.[77] Indigenous weapons like the _valarithadi_[78] or boomrang were hurled with tremendous force.[79] The cavalry in the meantime penetrated deep into the enemy's camp and at times forced the soldiers run helter-skelter.[80] Occasionally the Maratha soldiers disguised as the ally's forces of the enemy, penetrated deep into the enemy's forces and created confusion.[81] The cavalry ran swiftly to the rear of the enemy's force intercepted their supplies and reinforcements[82] and penetrated into the enemy's forces from the rear also.[83] In the event of any reverse they abandoned forts, kept themselves hidden behind the hills or water courses and took the enemy by surprise.[84] After victory they sounded their drums in great jubilation and if they suffered defeat consoled the commanders and themselves.[85] They nursed the wounded and buried the dead after the purōhita chanting mantras.

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[71] Macaulay, 4 February 1799, Letter to Captain Malcum at Vellore, Secret Consultations, Vol.7, pp.175-178.

[72] Tuljaji, 21 January 1764, Letter to the Governor Fort St.George, M.C.C., Vol.12, p.21.

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[73] General Smith, 1 November 1771, Letter to Josias Du Pre, M.C., Vol.40, p.926.

[74] Ramakrishna Kavi, _Op.cit._, Stanza, 36.

[75] _Ibid._, Stanza, 40. Also Gastin, J.H., _Manual of South Arcot District_, Madras, 1878, p.102.

[76] _Ibid._, Stanza, 33 and 40.

[77] Thurston, E., _Op.cit._, pp.17-18.
Egerton, W., _Op.cit._, pp.1-2.
Ramakrishna Kavi, _Op.cit._, Stanza, 42-44.

[78] _Valarithadi_ - is a crescent shaped weapon made up of hard grained wood or iron. It is twenty four inches to thirty along the outer curve and eighteen along the chordare. When it was hurled with tremendous force against the enemy, the whirling motion brought it back to the spot from where it was thrown unless it got struck on the enemy. Thurston, E., _Ethnographic Notes in Southern India_, Madras, 1906, pp.556-557.

[79] _Ibid._, pp.556-557.

When they gained victory they pursued the fleeing men and destroyed them.[86] They looted the tents and the bazaar of the

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80. Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., Stanza, 36.

81. An Intelligence Paper, 10 February 1771, M.C.C., Vol.19, pp.36-38.

82. General Smith, 1 November 1771, Letter to Josias Du Pre, M.C.Vol.40, p.926.

83. Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., Stanza, 36.

84. Josias Du Pre in Council, 23 September 1771, M.C., Vol. 40, p.830.

85. Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., Stanza, 45.

86. Ibid., Stanza, 43.

enemy, captured their horses and elephants, seized their armour[87] and war drums.[88] Tormenting and teasing of the population of the vanquished enemy's country were common.[89]

The rajahs arranged grand feasts to celebrate victories and rewarded heroes. The king embraced the heroes of battle and adorned them with pathak.[90] Srimant was the highest title of honour to the officials, for it brought high status and more salary.[91] Senadurandhar was another title awarded to honour the soldiers. He also received the same benefits as those of a Srimant.[92] Hasam-junjor, prathāna, pratheekā and hasam-junjor samaradhir[93] were titles of honours awarded

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87. Ibid., Stanza, 44.

88. Kiledar Mancojee Cody, (No date) Letter to William Blackburne, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3442, p.118.

89. Ramakrishna Kavi, Op.cit., Stanza, 52.

90. Tanjore District Records, 1 January to 30 June 1808, Vol.3262, p.73.
Pathak - Pathakam or a pendant.

91. Shelvankar Report, p.6.

92. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.8, Bundle.255, Sub-bundle.17.

93. Ibid., Vol.3, Bundle.127, Sub-bundle.21.

to gallant warriors. The rajah granted jāgirs too to them. As a mark of respect to these heroes and to safeguard their persons the state provided bodyguards called the samaradhīr.[94] If the mercenary soldiers showed heroism and if their character was found steady they were absorbed in the regular army. After the war the mustering of the cattle which were used for dragging the stores and war materials was ordered. The state compensated commoners if they lost cattle. The general rate fixed was two pagodas for a pair of bullocks. This amount was paid to the garrison store-keepers and they paid it to their subordinates who assisted them in this regard.[95]

The Maratha army consisted of young and youthful men who were always active. This added to the merit of the army. The training given by the Marathas to the soldiers to keep their body and mind fit to render war service added to the merit of the army. These soldiers had the endurance to bear

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94. Ibid., Vol.8, Bundle.255, Sub-bundle.17.

95. General Stuart, 11 March 1799, Letter to Rt.Hon. Mornington, Secret Consultations, Vol.7, p.269, Also Col.Coopper on the Civil Store-Keepers accounts from May 1780 to December 1784, M.C., Vol.115, pp.9-10.

the hardships of the war at all events. In war tactics too the army was efficient. Their war tactics prevented total destruction and occasionally they won victories. Further, it confused the enemy and they prevented them in adopting any strategy. The important aspect on the meritorious side of the army was that they never disturbed temples, women and standing crop. This aspect boosted the morale of the Maratha army.

The army organisation was not free from defects. The absence of a naval force, improper training to the artillary men and employment of mercenary soldiers affected the strength of the army. The employment of the mercenary soldiers and the deserters from other camps caused great difficulties. The mercenary soldiers were fortune seekers. They did not fight with real love for freedom but they fought for money only. In the pitched battles they did not stand to the pressure of the war and tried to escape. Occasinally when the forces were sent for the help of an ally, they absconded on the way and the kings received frequent complaints from the allies. The deserters too paid their dividend. As the soldiers were permitted to take their family with them, it made the army huge and expensive. It affected the quick movement of the army. Thus the forces could not reach the arena in time.

The military organisation was based on the feudal levy. So the kings lost their personal contracts with the army which was supplied by the subēdārs and other provincial agents. The soldiers knew only their provincial agents. On the event of death of the provincial agent who was their immediate officer, the forces ran disorderly, escaped from the battlefields and thus created confusion in the army. This weakened the army organisation of the Marathas and prevented them from winning many important battles. However, it is to be noted that the Marathas did not adopt either the Nayak pattern of military system or the Konkan pattern, but they were guided by the Muslim practice throughout in this respect.

CHAPTER VIII

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

On the importance of the judicial administration with reference to Tanjore Rev.Schwartz, the missionary politician, rightly asserted: "It is acknowledged by all people, that the administration of justice is the basis of the true welfare of a country. Every government is supported by a rational administration of justice, without which both the king and subject cannot prosper. A country without justice is a ruined country".[1] However, there is no evidence to indicate that the Marathas gave due importance to the administration of justice. The Hindu principles of jurisprudence divided the crimes into offences against God, offences against the state and offences against private individuals. It was believed that punishing the offender against God was to be left to God. Punishing an offender against the state and private individuals was the duty of the makers and preservers of law.[2] The Maratha

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1. Schwartz, 1790, Letter to Charles Oakley, President and Governor in Council, Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, pp. 116-137.

2. Sarkar, J.N., Op.cit., pp.72-88.

princes of Tanjore believed that an individual who committed a crime had committed a sin against the law and morality of the society. In order to absolve him of the sin, the offender had to undergo a punishment. Punishing an offender against the **state** was the duty of the king. Individual who committed a crime against fellow beings had to face the court of law. The Marathas had their own courts of law which underwent frequent changes within the short period of their rule. The credit of establishing a regular court goes to Pratap Singh. Since then the judicial system began to develop under the guidance of the British. As a result there came into existence a graded system of courts.

The Traditional System

In order to administer justice the Vijayanagar Emperors, who were the forerunners of Nayaks, set up different grades of courts. The courts were called sabāhs. The sabāhs were primarily divided into mukya[3] and amukya.[4] The mukya courts dealt with disputes of serious nature. The mukyasabāh consisted of pratisthitā[5] and apratisthitā.[6] The pratisthitā was stationary and met at a particular place, whereas apratisthitā met as and when the judges found it essential. The judges decided the meeting places. A pratisthitā or apratisthitā court became sastritā when it was presided over by the king and it became mudritā when it was presided over by a judge appointed by the king. The royal court at the capital had jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases. It consisted of the king, pradvivākās, his assistants and the sabhyās or the assessors. Usually the king deputed his pratinidhi to exercise judicial authority on behalf of the king. The pradvivākā was important next to the king and the judge. He helped the king in examining witnesses. The sabhyās explained the nature of the law applicable to a particular crime. In the villages there were dharmāsanās[7] which met in a village hall. However, the decision of the dharmāsanā was not final. The people could appeal to the court or provincial governors and then to the rajah.[8] When the Nayaks took over Tanjore, they followed the Vijayanagar system of judicial administration. Ekoji, the founder of the Maratha principality, followed the traditional system. Later on the domestic troubles coupled with external aggression threw the traditional system into confusion. Therefore the Marathas attempted to reform the system.

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[3] Mukya - means important.

[4] Amukya - means unimportant.

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[5] Pratisthita - means that can be seen.

[6] Apratisthita - means that cannot be seen.

[7] Dharmāsanās-, Dharma - means duty; āsanā - means a seat. In the ordinary sense it is called a seat or place where the village judiciary met.

The Maratha Policy

The Marathas did not set up any graded system of courts at the beginning of their rule. The early rulers entrusted the administration with the local officers. The subēdārs of the subāhs, the amuldar of the māhāṇam and the karbār or the head superintendent of the revenue department exercised judicial authority. The kiledars also dispensed with justice.[9] In the villages that were situated away from Tanjore, the village panchayats settled disputes of all sorts.[10] There were hereditary headmen for the different communities. Usually the headman was invested with the authority of punishing transgressions against the rules of his caste. However, his power was not arbitrary. A council of elders of his community or tribe always assisted him and supervised his work. When the dispute was of intricate nature he generally referred the case to the hereditary chief of the tribe. In turn the tribal chief assembled the most respectable men of the area and settled the disputes. These courts had no legal recognition, but they survived because of the influence of tradition. The amuldars also extended their support to the decisions of the hereditary chiefs.[11] In cases, when the contending parties did not agree to the decision of the panchayats , they sought the aid of the subēdār or the kiledar of the nearby fort. Always an appeal lay from the panchayats and the arbitrators to the rajah.[12]

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[8] Venkata Ramanayya, N., The Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar, pp.269-283.

[9] Rajayyan, K., Society and Administration in the Carnatic, p.38.

[10] Govindarasanar Pulavar (ed.), Op.cit., Lines, 48-49.

The rajah also received an abstract of the case from the panchayats and the arbitrators every month and reserved himself the right of reversing or modifying the verdicts.[13] While this system was in vogue, rajah Pratap Singh appointed a single judge in the capital on a salary of thirty *pagodas* a month with an establishment of *kanakkpillais* or accountants, and *muttāsidies* or treasury peons for the purpose of collecting fines, registering decisions of the court and from which an appeal might be made to the rajah.[14] When an appeal was filed, the rajah usually referred the case to his *sirkīl* or *dharmādhikāri* or some other principal officer like the *karbār*[15] who settled disputes by arbitration.[16] Where there were Muslims the *kazi* administered justice.[17] Where there were Hindus they appointed Brahmins well versed in *smritis* for the settlement of disputes.

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[11] Francis Bunchaman, Journey from Madras, through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Vol.1, 2nd ed., Madras, 1870, p.55.

[12] Report of the Tanjore Commissioner's, 1799, pp.133-134.

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[13] Baliga, B.S., *Tanjore District Handbook*, p.91.

[14] Venkataswamy Row, T.(ed.), *Op.cit.*, p.440.

[15] George Andrew Ram, 31 December 1791, Letter to Col.Stuart, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.3, pp.24-32.

[16] Hugh Pearson, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.123.

[17] Charles Harris, 10 May 1800, Letter to Charles Petrie, Resident and Member of the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, p.274.

For the administration of justice in criminal cases there existed no established courts in the country. The faujdar dispensed with criminal justice. His position was equal to that of a district magistrate. In special cases, outsiders occupied this post. At the time of selection of judges, their family status and social status were taken into account.[18] Below the faujdars, there were darogas with their subordinates.[19] The kotwāls too fined the culprits. On occasions they warned the offenders, awarded transfers to choukidārs and fined the state servants upto fifteen days' salary. In performing his duty satisfactorily, the kotwāl had the assistance of a kanakkpillai and subordinate peons.[20] At the same time we cannot rule out that, the village panchayats had no hand in the criminal jurisdiction. The village panchayats became sabāhs, when they exercised criminal authority.[21]

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18. Hickey, W., Op.cit., pp.47-49.

19. Edward Greenway, 14 September 1805, Letter to the Governor, Fort St.George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.2, pp.691-697.

20. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.3, Bundle.125, Sub-bundle.1.

21. Report of the Tanjore Commissioners', 1799 (Manuscript), pp.133-134.

The king was the highest appellate criminal court of Justice. An appeal against the decision of the subordinate judicial authorities always lay with the rajah. Usually the rajah instituted an enquiry into the offence of the culprit and confirmed the punishments awarded in the lower courts or acquitted the accused. In doing so he consulted the shastras.[22] However, it cannot be denied that the king gave no proper judicial training to the officers who exercised judicial authority. He recruited judges from all walks of life whether they were well versed in legal lores and learned in Hindu laws and jurisprudence or not. They appointed judges from among military, revenue and local officials. Occasionally they offered posts to private individuals who had no qualification for the office of a judge.[23] These people administered justice at their will, showed favouritism to their near ones and obliged to the recommendations of the people from the palace. Consequently, judiciary became corrupt and indolent. There was virtually no one to question the authority of the judges, or even to overrule their decisions. Although the rajah allowed an appeal, he did not take much interest. Generally he referred the case to his sirkīl or to the karbār for a report.

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22. Srinivasan, C.K., Op.cit., pp.357-358.

23. Hickey, O., Op.cit., p.65.

They settled disputes by private arbitration.[24]

During Tuljaji's (1763-1787) reign, an attempt was made to improve the judicial system. Basing the traditional model, he established four graded courts at the capital viz., *nyāya-sabāh* or criminal court, *mudrita-sabāh* or civil court, *dharma-sabāh* or **religious** courts and the *nyāyadhisa-sabāh* or the supreme court.[25] To administer justice he appointed five judges.[26] Yet he could not provide for the smooth functioning of these courts. Consequent upon the invasion of Hyder Ali and the occupation of Tanjore by Mohammad Ali, this system did not work well. Hyder Ali devastated the country. Mohammad Ali occupied the country and destroyed the previous set up. After the death of Tuljaji in 1787, the British began to intervene directly into the administration following the succession issue between Amir Singh, the regent and Sarfoji II, the *yuvaraja*. During Amir Singh's reign judiciary was totally neglected in spite of the admonitions of Rev.Schwartz and Sir Archbald Campbell. Consequently the British sought to improve the judicial administration.

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24. Srinivasan, C.K., *Op.cit.*, pp.357-358.

25. *Shelvankar Report*, pp.2-3.

26. Amir Singh, Reply to the confidential and secret Report of the Committee, 21 April 1797, M.C.C., Vol.36, p.83.

Nyāyādhisa-mahal

As per the provisions of the Treaty of 1787, Amir Singh agreed to set right the judicial system[27] but he neglected it. However, he reported to the Madras Council "that the country flourishes where justice is administered and that people cannot be happy but mutual languish where justice is wanting". But the administration of justice was totally neglected and the inhabitants suffered most severely. Certain persons were appointed in the palace to hear complaints. But bribery and corruption were prevalent amongst these judges. Criminals were protected, poor people were unnoticed and even injured. Having done so much injury to the judiciary he put the blame on the previous administration and promised to rectify the mistakes in future; "in former times the managers did not fix their attention upon what was right and wrong... I will look out for able and proper judges, appoint them. Keep an account of their decision.... In future the nominated persons will be examined".[28] Archbald Campbell, the Governor of Madras admo-

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27. Treaty of 1787, between Sir Archbald Campbell and the King of Tanjore, M.C., Vol.119, pp.60-68.

28. Amir Singh reply to the Confidential and Secret Report of the Committee, 21 April 1787, M.C.C., Vol.36, p.83.

nished the prince for the neglect of the judiciary. To ensure better judicial administration he sent a ten point regulation to Amir Singh.

The first three regulations clearly stated about the location of the court, character and integrity of the judges to be appointed, the salary of the judges to keep them away from infamy of receiving any bribe and to disqualify any judge who received any reward from ever sitting as a judge. The fourth regulation gave clear direction to the king to keep a separate account for the money collected by way of fine. The next three clauses gave instructions to the rajah about the modus operandi of the judiciary. They directed the ruler to avoid receiving oral complaints and get everything in writing stating their case and the witness. The regulation paved the way for the creation of the official establishment. It also directed the judges to give a summary of law suits that came before them and their decisions. The last three regulations directed the court about the nature of punishment. The poor should not feel about the tedious delay in delivering justice and there should be no interruption of any kind including by the women of the palace.[29]

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[29] 1.".....the court in which the judges are to sit ought to be an open place to which every person whether rich or the poor have a free and ready access.

2. Four respectable persons of tried abilities and integrity ought to be appointed to hear the complaints of the people and to decide upon them according to law and strict impartial justice.

3. The judges should have a competent salary to put them above the meanness and infamy of accepting any bribe, such who shall due to disagree the character of an upright judge by taking any fee or reward on account of their judgements ought to be severely punished and disqualified from ever sitting afterwards as a judge.

4. All monies recovered by fines ought to be kept as a separate fund to be supplied as your excellency may think best but the judges ought never to have any share in it.

5. No verbal complaints ought to be listened to. Complainants should give in their complaints in writing under proper signature imploring justice and stating their case and witness.

6. Three or more writers should note and regularly record the law suits brought before the judges. They ought also to register and preserve all supplications or justice.

7. The judges should give to the rajah on the last day of every month a summary account of the law suits that came before them and their decision upon them.

8. When a person is convicted of bribery the punishments should be exemplary and public.

9. Expedition should be recommended to the judge in the most promptary manner for when they are tedious in their decisions the poor class of people are constrained to quit their suits on the principle that it is much better to give up their hopes of success than to incur a most expense by tedious delay.

10. No interruption of great men much less of the women of the palace should be received by the judges for justice and Truth should prevail untainted with the threats and supplication of either".

Archbald Campbell, 10 April 1787, Letter to the rajah of Tanjore M.C., Vol.119, pp.81-85. Also translation of a letter from Major General Archbald Campbell, 6 March 1787, M.C.C., Vol. 36, pp.77-80.

The regulations framed by Archbald Campbell, Resident at Tanjore for the court of judicature gave an outline to reorganise judiciary in Tanjore. Based on these principles Amir Singh revived the judicial system that was introduced by Tuljaji. Known as *nyāyāçimahal*[30] the judiciary consisted of the same four courts as in Tuljaji's reign. The *nyāyādhisasabāh* or the supreme court received petitions from the other three courts. The *adyaksha* or chief justice presided over the central court.[31]

The ten point regulation of Sir Archbald Campbell provided that persons of integrity and ability should be selected as the judges.[32] Using this as a criterion for the appointment of judges, Amir Singh, appointed people from Brahmin caste because he believed that they were noted for integrity and ability

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30. Alexander Grant, 1798, Letter to Edward Saunders, President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.10.

31. *Shelvankar Report*, pp.2-3.

32. Translation of a letter from Archbald Campbell, 6 March 1787, M.C.C., Vol.36, pp.77-80.

well-versed in legal lores and the sastras.[33] The judges of the court were selected from their relatives at the outset. But after 1800, they were selected from among the inhabitants. The judges were sworn in according to the most solemn usage of their respective castes. On appointment the judges pledged to serve faithfully, but after entering into service they did not keep their oath. Even if rarely one or two wanted to do justice, they were prevented by the people from the palace and money lenders too frequently.[34]

The official establishment of the court consisted of a large number of servants. The nyāya-sabāh had seventeen persons and the mudrita-sabāh had seventeen assistants each. Each court had a dimati who signed the court's decrees.[35] The dabanakarta[36] executed the court's decrees.[37] The majumdar kept the accounts. The writer prepared an accurate statement everyday regarding the number of cases registered and particulars like name of father, caste, occupation of the plaintiffs, and their defendants. Also he kept a register indicating the number of cases disposed. The kāvalcārā assisted dabanakarta in the execution of the court's decree. The hārkun was the accessary.[38] The hircārā maintained the attendance register.[39]

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[33] Amir Singh, Reply to Ten point Judicial Regulation of Sir Archbald Campbell, (no date), Ibid., Vol.36, pp.96-106.

[34] Charles Harris, 10 May 1800, Letter to William Petrie, President of the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3200, pp.274-277. Also Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, pp.115-118.

[35] Shelvankar Report, pp.2-3.

[36] Dabanakarta - Dapita means fined or adjudged; karta - means one who executes.

[37] Shelvankar Report, pp.2-3.

The court was opened at eight a.m. in the morning and the employees of the court marked their attendance twice a day; first at twelve noon and then at three p.m. to note the late-comers. The late-comers were fined. Every month an abstract of partial and full absentees during the month was prepared for the purpose of paying salary.[40]

The judges of the dharma-sabāh did not hear cases and deliver judgments on the day they did not recite the vedas.[41]

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38. Ibid., p.4.
39. Ibid., p.10.
40. Ibid., p.3.
41. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.8, Bundle.160, Sub-bundle.3.

Even they did not receive documents related to cases.[42] For their service, the judges were paid by the state.[43] The court took cognisance of all cases within the town limit only. However, in villages the old system of judiciary functioned as before. For its maintenance the court charged two and a half per cent of the value of the suit from the party winning the cases besides the amount collected from the people.[44]

When the court was established the ill-disposed men who surrounded the king stood as a stumbling block to the smooth functioning of the judiciary. At the instigation of his ill-disposed servants, the rajah made a faint show and arranged a small house and appointed the needed judges. At the beginning it was open, but soon he built a cross wall to prevent anyone from hearing the proceedings of the court. The rajahs' servants frustrated the laudable desire of the judges to do good to the people.[45] The judges had to wait for permission to hear law suit. After receiving permission, hardly had they begun to enquire into the cases, the rajah's servants interrupted and made even a just decision null and void. The oppressive money lenders too, exercised their authority and influence to get decisions in their favour.[46] The judges despite their endeavours to do justice became totally useless.[47]

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[42] Ibid., Vol.8, Sub-bundle.1.

[43] Ibid., Vol.8, Bundle.214.

[44] Alexander Grant, 1798, Letter to Edward Saunders, President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.10.

Between the years, 1788 and 1790, the administration deteriorated. The English sent Petrie to Tanjore with the object of setting right the Tanjore affairs. He reported that the rajah's oppressive minister Shiva Row was the root cause of all the evils and hence he recommended to dismiss him.[48] In the meanwhile Rev.Schwartz learning the sorry plight of the people requested the rajah to rectify the defects in the working of the judiciary. As the requests were not complied with by the rajah, Schwartz also made a complaint to the Council at Fort St.George.[49] In order to remove the defects of the judiciary and to establish the same on firm footing Rev.Schwartz presented his plan consisting of eighteen points.

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[45] Extract of a letter from Schwartz, 29 January 1790, Letter to Fort St.George, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.1, p.189.

[46] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, pp.115-118.

[47] Ibid., Vol.II, pp.116-120.

[48] Sir Archbald Campbell's Report on the Mismanagement of Amir Singh, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3448, pp.421-424.

[49] Schwartz writes **thus** regarding the Tanjore affairs "Having frequently lamented, the mischiefs which are daily happening for want of a regular system of justice, has favoured me with this thoughts upon the important subjects which I have the honour to enclose. The want of such regulations are daily before my eyes. Every man in Tanjore Country ties up and tortures whomsoever he pleases on the most frivolous pretences", Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.115.

As per this plan the judges were to decide all complaints according to justice. The court was to function in a separate building which was spacious, open and accessible to all to enable everyone concerned in a suit to have free admittance to see and hear every step that was taken in the case. "People of knowledge and good quality should be chosen as judges. A knowledge of the customs of this country was absolutely necessary, that all decisions may be agreeable thereto; even an honest man without such knowledge of their laws would be very unfit to decide in their dispute". The judges were to receive regular pay to prevent them from receiving any bribe. "Judges found guilty of receiving any bribe should be punished and that too in an exemplary manner and rendered incapable of acting as such in future so that others may be deterred from the like guilt". It laid down that, when making any complaint in writing, the injury complained of should be specified and the name of the witness to prove it should be mentioned by name. A proper time should be given, rules were to be laid down regarding the time of receiving petitions and hearing suits and how to prepare a petition to be placed before the judges. The judges should present to the rajah their decisions every month to show that the poor and the rich were treated alike. The fines collected should be used for the public welfare and payment of the peons employed in the court. The relatives of the parties involved in the case were to be allowed to hear the discussions on the suits. The inhabitants could seek the help of the court of appeal at Tanjore, if they were not satisfied with the decision of the panchayats. The fines collected ought to be put in a chest with three locks, the keys to be kept by three persons to prevent embezzlement.[50] Thus Schwartz's eighteen point programme gave clear ideas about setting up a court. But he did not give any suggestion regarding private property, debts, etc., In the light of his suggestions the judicial regulations of 1791 were introduced.

The Regulations of 1791

Following Schwartz Plan, in order to complete the work of the judiciay the British introduced a regulation concerning private property and debts. It laid certain principles on which the sub-division officials should act, on cases pertaining to private property, debt, marriages, legacies and inheritance. In case of a dispute the karbār or the superintending amuldar should assemble at the place where the head karbār usually sat to dispose cases of above nature. Usually the meeting began at nine a.m. Cases amounting to fifty pagodas were examined by him.[51] The main defect of the regulation was that it did not give directions in regard to cases pertaining to higher amount. Further it did not deal with debt. In order to deal with cases relating to debt, the British introduced a law in the same year.

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[50] Hugh Pearson, Op.cit., pp.121-124.

According to that law the debtor must keep a voucher for the interests and the principal amounts paid. If no proper voucher was made available, then the debtor had to pay the whole amount as per the bond. If he did not pay it the lender was authorised to seek the help of the karbār. If either of the parties were dissatisfied with the decision of the karbār they should appeal within thirty days to the head karbār and the head amuldar. The decision of the head karbār and the head amuldar was binding on both the parties.[52] Thus the law of debt gave a relief to the people. The debtee felt that he could get back the money he had lent. The borrower was sure that he would not be cheated after payment.

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[51] George Andrew Ram, Collector, 31 December 1791, Letter to Colonel Stuart, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.3, pp.24-32.

During the time of rajah Sarfoji, he entrusted this work in the hands of the kiledars of all forts within his jurisdiction.[53] An abstract of their proceedings was transmitted to the palace every month and the rajah could reverse any decision of the kiledars. However, he did not make any attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the court of justice at Tanjore over criminal cases.[54]

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52. Regulations for determining disputes concerning private property, 7 September 1791, Fort St.George, Assumed Revenue Records, Vol.2, pp.694-697.

53. Tanjore Commissioner's Report, 1799, pp.48-51.

54. Rajayyan, K., Society and Administration in the Carnatic, p.39.

Crimes and Punishments

The Marathas awarded different sorts of punishments for offences against the state and individuals. They awarded exemplary punishments to the offenders so that they should not repeat the same. Besides jailing, fines in cash and kind, mock processions by the beat of drum through the main streets and public flogging were notable features.

The Marathas considered the acts of the individuals against the interest of the state as **treason**. Crimes such as revealing the political secret and giving information about the strategy of the invasion were considered offences against the state. For such kinds of offences, they executed the offenders confiscated their property, rooted out the entire family of the offenders and made their property as state property.[55] Giving false witness and preparing false documents and seals were also considered offences against the state. If the offender in such cases happened to be a man of good social status or polite manners the state did not award him public flogging; instead smeared his body with black and white dots

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55. Bhonsle Vamsa Charita, pp.87-89.

and put a garland made of eruku flower or morning glory and seated him on an ass's back facing the tail. Then they led him in a mock procession through the principal streets of the capital to be seen by the people on the way. Afterwards he was jailed for five or six days.[56] This was done as a warning to others. For stealing the state property, the normal punishment was fine. This was collected either in cash or in kind.[57] The state did not punish the offenders as and when they heard about it. If the offence was committed against the king at a far off place, the sircar sent an officer to make an enquiry about the genuineness of the case before awarding punishment.[58]

The Maratha kings inflicted corporal punishments and varied fines for offences against individuals. Selling

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56. Modi Manuscripts, Vol.7, Bundle.943, Sub-bundle.52.

57. Ibid., Vol.5, Bundle.76, Sub-bundle.1.

58. Bonsle Vamsa Charita, pp.87-89.

adulterated food products to the ignorant led to the imposition of a fine.[59] Cases pertaining to stealing were decided by oath.[60] But there were incidents in which the individuals were either fined[61] or awarded public flogging.[62] Hurting a Brahmin was severely dealt with. In some cases, the state awarded one year imprisonment and during that time they exacted labour from the prisoners.[63] The Maratha government treated the women criminals on par with men criminals.[64]

During the time of imprisonment, the state did not give any means of subsistance to offenders, who were in prison. They were entirely left to the charity of their respective villages. In case of fine, the culprit should pay the amount to the dapanakarta.[65] In case of parties residing outside Tanjore the sub-division officer called madhyastha executed court's decrees.[66]

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[59] Modi Manuscript, Vol.I, Bundle.1, Sub-bundle.1.

[60] Prince,(ed.), Ananda Rangam Pillai Diary, Vol.I, p.359.

[61] Modi Manuscript, Vol.I, Bundle.116, Sub-bundle.3. Also Ibid., Vol.8, Bundle.158, Sub-bundle.1.

[62] Ibid., Vol.5, Bundle.72, Sub-bundle.1.

[63] Ibid., Vol.1, Bundle.115, Sub-bundle.1.

[64] Ibid., Vol.9, Bundle.56, Sub-bundle.1.

The Marathas awarded capital punishments not only for political treason but also for civil crimes. The lower court awarded capital punishment for abducting women.[67] To the convicted criminals mutilation of limbs was the usual punishment.[68] But at the same time there was a practice of remission of punishment. Yet on appeal the nyāyasabāh and the dharma sabāh did not always reduce the punishment into fine. In fact the king had overriding power either to commute the sentence or exonerate the culprit.

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[65] Shelvankar Report, pp.4-6.

[66] Military Sundries, 17 January 1769, Vol. , p.93.

[67] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.4, Bundle.34, Sub-bundle.209.

[68] Ibid., Vol.8, Bundle.160, Sub-bundle.1.

Though the Marathas set up courts, guided by the Nayak system, their functioning, rules and regulations were created mostly by the English. But these courts did not extend their jurisdiction to villages, where the villagers continued to be governed by the old crude form of judiciary. The improper arrangement, inadequate training, indolent nature of the judiciary, intervention from the palace, favouritism shown to the money lenders and leaving judiciary to the will of the sub-division officers were the glaring defects found in the judicial administration. There was no organised system of code, yet the punishments were severe. As caste considerations weighed with the decision making process, the inhabitants did not appear equal before law or the law courts.

CHAPTER IX

POLICE ADMINISTRATION

In an attempt to maintain peace and order the Maratha rulers made it a policy to preserve and strengthen the traditional system of police. Their police organisation consisted of the *kotwāl* who maintained peace and order in the cities and towns, the *hircārās* who gathered information, the *kāvalcārā* and his subordinates, the *visārippukāran* who made enquiries and the *talaiyāri* who performed the duties of a rural constable

The Kotwāls

The *kotwāl*, the principal officer in police administration, was a royal representative in the town and he functioned under the direct control of the king. The functions and powers of *kotwāl* were akin to those of the *tānādhārs*[1] of the Mughal Empire. They derived this character from the Mughal system.

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[1] *Tānādhārs*- The *tānādhārs* were local sub-division officers in the Mughal Empire who were in command of the outposts called the *tanas* or smaller areas within the *faujdari*. In Tanjore Maratha kingdom, the *kotwāl* combined in himself the powers and functions of the *tānādhārs* and the *kotwāls* of the Mughal period.

The *kotwāl* as the head of the police establishment[2] held control of the large or small cities.[3] With the help of spies, he gathered information about the daily occurrences that came into his notice and reported to the *sirkīl* about the arrivals and departures of strangers.[4] He imprisoned the strangers who entered the rajah's territory without identity or passport.[5] As a responsible officer, he collected statistics relating to the income and expenditure of the different classes of people. Since the *kotwāl* was the supervising authority of the cities and towns, he inspected the main bazaars and checked weights and measures. Along with the *viledar*, he kept watch at night and patrolled the city. The *kotwāl* always kept an eye on persons, who purchased second hand utensils as they were mostly stolen. If he suspected any persons of purchasing stolen articles, he arrested and fined him. Also he

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2. Rajayyan, K., *Society and Administration in the Carnatic*, p.22.

3. Revenue Letters sent from January to May 1798 to the Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.10.

4. Fenger, J.F., *History of Tranquebar Mission*, Tranquebar, 1906, pp.139-140.

5. Thomas, P., *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*, London, 1954, p.47.

kept watch over the coppersmiths and blacksmiths. If he detected any of these smiths melting any stolen articles, he made a thorough enquiry and arrested the persons guilty of purchasing the stolen articles and forced them to pay the cost.[6]

The cleanliness of the city depended upon the efficiency of the kotwāl. Supervising the vettiyans[7] appointed for various purposes, issuing orders now and then either in the form of warning or advice to the people to keep the drainage and streets clean were also his duties. If the inhabitants carelessly obstructed the drainage, the kotwāl warned them so as to avoid obstruction in future. If the inhabitants repeated the same error, the kotwāl punished them with public flogging or fine. At times, for greater crimes, he drove them out of the town. He patrolled the town at night and arrested the inhabitants who threw dirt on the road or in the gutter. Also he arrested the gamblers, received a written statement from the, fined the culprits and took them to the sirkīl for further enquiry and orders.[8] The kotwāl exercised judicial authority too. He fined his subordinates and sircar servants upto fifteen days' salary. If a crime was very grave and deserved greater punishment he referred it to the sirkīl for further enquiry and punished the choukidars who indulged in unlawful activities.[9]

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[6] Edward, G., Greenway, 14 September 1805, Letter to the Secretary to the Government, Fort St.George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.2, p.642.

[7] Vettiyans - Village menial servant.

[8] Modi Manuscripts, Vol.3, Bundle.125C.

The spies called the hircārās assisted the kotwāl in discharging his duties. Ten talaiyaris,[10] a kotwāl, kanakkpillai and an interpreter to the court were attached to his office.[11] The kotwāl received his remuneration in the form of cash and rent free land from the sircar as manyam.[12] Besides these he collected a fee called the magama[13] from the people. In fact the kotwāl was granted vast powers in the name of maintaining law and order.

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[9] Judicial Consultations, Vol.5, p.190, Also Modi Manuscript Vol.3, Bundle.125, Sub-bundle.1.

[10] Talaiyari - was the assistant to kāvalcārā.

[11] Charles Harris' 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Record, Vol.3200, p.289, and Revenue letters sent from January to May 1798, to the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3234, p.10.

[12] Manyam - Supra, p.110.

[13] Magama - The fee of the kotwāl collected from the people of a particular area in which the kotwal existed. It was also a poll tax collected for the maintenance of the templ The rate varied from 1¾ gold panam to 100 kalams of produc Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Reven Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, p.5.

The Kāvalcārās

The western part of Tanjore was an abode of the Kallar tribes.[14] At times they carried away the cattle of the inhabitants from the grazing fields. To protect their cattle and property, the inhabitants paid a blackmail[15] to the Kallans. The rate of blackmail was four to eight aṇās for a pair of bulls. The Kallans did not collect the blackmail directly from the people. Instead they sent local agents, usually from other communities, to collect the blackmail what they felt as due to them.[16] On occasions these local agents did not pay what they collected from the inhabitants; consequently the latter sustained more loss. In order to do away with this kind of ordeals, the inhabitants of Tanjore adopted the *kāval* [17] system. The servants who held this office were the *kāvalcarās*. They acted as the rural constables. The word '*kaval*' in Tamil means 'watch'. Any person who performed this duty was a *kāvalcāra* [18] who was from a predatory or martial community usually. As occasion warranted, the *kāvalcārās* accompanied their chiefs to the battle fields during the time of war and performed *kāval* duty[19] in times of peace. They possessed both offensive and defensive weapons like matchlocks and pikes. Frequently they carried a *kilukkuthadi*[20] and a *valarithadi*[21] when they were at duty or not.[22]

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[14] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.206, Also Judicial Consultations, Vol.5, p.198.

[15] Blackmail. Money exacted by means of threats of exposure of personal belongings. The collection of blackmail in Madurai and Tirunelveli districts applied only to crops and property and not to cattle.

[16] Hemingway, F.R., Op.cit., p.206.

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[17] *Kaval*: This term was in vogue in the southern part of the Carnatic. In Rajaputana, the Minos performed the duty of a *kavalcara* or village watcher. Adequate payment of salar and proper management made them effective machines. Rajayyan, K., *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, p.16. In the zilla of Ganjam the village police were call the 'dundasses' and in the district of Chicacole, the police servants were called the 'burkee'. They were calle with different appellations in different places as 'naikwadies' in Rajahmundry, 'Mahatadies' in Guntur, 'daroga' or 'patel' in Salem and Coimbatore Districts. Report to the Government by I.Duck on the Police reports and correspondence 1st May 1805, to 24 December 1806, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, pp.10-20.

[18] Hemingway, F.R., *Op.cit.*, p.206,
Also Rajayyan, K., *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamilnadu*, Madras, 1974, p.30.

[19] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.1.

The *kāval* system was based upon the principle of, "set a thief to catch a thief". The tribal people like the kallans took up the responsibility of apprehending thieves and robbers. This conferred upon them a sense of responsibility.[2 The possession of this office was hereditary. In return the *kāvalcārās* paid an inheritance fee called the *kaval-poruppu* yearly[24] to the state and asserted their rights over this office. This brought even incapable men into the office and they neglected their duty, disobeyed their superiors and indul

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20. *Kilukkuthadi* - A long stick with numerous bells attached to it. When the *kavalearas* stroke it on the ground it made noise. The *kavalcaras* used it as a warning device to the thieves and robbers.

21. *Valarithadi* - **Supra, p.180.**

22. Vethanayagam Shastri, *Bethlehem Kuravanchi*, Madras, 1964, p.335.

23. Rajayyan, K., *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, p.67.

24. Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.25.

in malpractices.[25] They utilised the principle of hereditary succession to earn wealth and became affluent very soon. In the later stages of the Maratha rule, they, taking advantage of disorders, interfered in the normal working of the judicial department and exercised the power of the same.[26] There were different kinds of *kāvalcārās*.[27]

In Tanjore there were three kinds namely the *arasu kāvalcārās*, *menkāvalcārās* and the *kudi kāvalcārās*. The *arasu kāvalcārās* signified a prince or a chief. The Thondamans [28] in Tanjore acted as the *arasu kāvalcārās*. *Menkāvalcā* were the heads or the chief *kāvalcārās* of a district or a *māhāṇam*. Usually, the *poligars* occupied this office. The *kudi kāvalcārās* were born and brought up in the same village, they were subordinates to the other two categories c *kāvalcārās*.[29] The *kudi kāvalcārās* were otherwise known as *sthalam kāvalcārās*.[30] As *sthalam* signified a place or a village, the *kudi kāvalcārās* were exactly the village police officers. A *darōghā*[31] superintended the police of two *māhāṇams*. In each of the *māhāṇams*, he posted the assistants called the *dafēdars* and peons.[32]. The *faujdārs* of the subāhs were essentially judicial officers who controll the police department of the respective *subāhs*.[33]

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[25] Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to Charles Petrie, Resident and Members of the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, p.19.

[26] *Ibid*., p.1.

[27] In the erstwhile Ramnad District, there were six types of *kavalcaras*: *kottaram kavalcara* to watch the granary in which *melvāram* paddy was stored, *desh kavalcara* was the head *kavalcāra* of the *mahanam*, *therkathi kavalcaras* were the guardians of the southern roads, *thambitchi kavalcara* appointed by the Thambitchi Naik, who ruled over Paramakud Natu-kavalcara was a *kavalcara* of Nadu or a portion of the country. *Dalavoy kavalcara* who assisted the Dalavoy or servai. Rajaram Row, T., (ed.), *Ramnad District Manual*, Madras, 1933, pp.309-311.
*Paramakudi is a revenue district in the present Ramnad District.

[28] *Thondamans* - The thondamans were called the *sunnambukaran*, a Tamil caste of lime burners. They were a branch of Kallans who migrated from Pudukkottai to other parts of the country. It is the family name of the rajah of Pudukkotta Thurston, E., *Op.cit*., pp.174-175.

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[29] Report on the Police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly by Wallac Collector of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.1, pp.57-59.

[30] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.7.

[31] *Daroghā* - In the Mughal Empire, a *darōghā* acted as the Superintendent of Posts and Intelligence Department. He wielded authority even to punish an irrate governor who offended his subordinates. Sarkar, J.N., *Op.cit.*, p.49. But in Tanjore Maratha principality he acted as the Superintendent of Police Department as well as the Intelli- gence Department. He did not wield the power to punish the irrate governors. This is a degeneration of the *darogh*

[32] Edward Greenway, Secretary to Government, 14 September 1805, Letter. Fort St.George, Judicial Sundries, Vol.2, pp.691-697.

[33] Hickey, W., *Op.cit.*, p.51.

The ancient rulers prescribed a particular limit to the particular jurisdiction of each *kāvalcārā*, known as circuits or *kāvelly* and they confined their activities within their limits. During the Maratha rule, the rulers deviated from the *kaval* principles and limits, and they allowed the *kāvalcārās* themselves to fix up their own limits and become master of an undefined jurisdiction.[34] In Trivadi there were ninety-four *kāvalcārās* for 298 villages, in Mayavaram fortysix for 851 villages, in Kevalore thirtynine *kāvalcārās* for 573 villages, in Kumbakonam sixty for 640 villages and in Nannilam eighteen for 580 villages. Thus there were nine kaval divisions and 451 circuits in Tanjore. In addition the *kudi kāvalcārās* managed 1418 villages.[35] In fixing up of the

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[34] Charles Harris Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, [illegible] 1804, p.101.

[35] The foregoing statement shows the distribution of the *kavalcarās*.

Name of the circuit	No. of kavalcaras	No. of Villages	Kudi kaval Villages
Trivadi	94	298	225
Mayavaram	46	851	3
Kevalore	39	573	114
Tiruvalore	32	520	640
Cumbaconam	60	640	60
Mannargudy	45	518	28
Nannilam	18	580	6
Pattucottah	16	262	883
Papanasam	101	450	74

Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.7.

circuit of the *kāvalcārās*, the king adopted no definite princ ples. The improper distribution and the expansion of the circuit of a particular *kāvalcārā* into parts of neighbouring circuit, handicapped the smooth and well-knitted working of th *kāval* system.[36] The confused and irregular allotment of the respective jurisdictions disturbed the peace and tranquility among the people. Undetected crimes increased due to want of clearcut jurisdiction of each *kāvalcārā*.[37]

The circuit of a *kāvalcārā* was so wide and the number of villages over which he had jurisdiction was so many that his burden was very heavy. Therefore, the *kāvalcārās* had their assistants namely, the *visārippukāran* or investigators and th village watchers or *talaiyaris*. Investigators called the *visārippukārās* were the temporary and dependant servants of the *kudi kāvalcārās*.[38] As they were appointed by the kāvalcārās, visārippukāras acted according to the wishes of the former and continued in office at the goodwill of the kāvalcārās. The visārippukāras, belonging to different castes, worked at the cutchery of every monigar. They reported to the kāvalcārā about the irregularities either heard or detected or witnessed.[40] There was no separate fund allotted to defray their remuneration. Generally they received their pay from their employers.[41] The talaiyaris of Tanjore were another grade of subordinate officers of the kāvalcārās. In some of the villages the talaiyari or the kulapandy[42] was the only police officer. This office was hereditary in nature.[43] In big villages there were two or three talai-

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[36] Charles Harris Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement, 1804, p.27.

[37] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.42.

[38] I.Wallace's Report of the Police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, p.60.

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39. Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.8.

40. Charles Harris' Report to the Committee of General Embezzlement of the country, 1804, p.101.

41. Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.8.

42. Kulapandy - Kulam is a Tamil term which means a tribe or a caste. pandy - means head. He was the head of the tribe. Hence he was called the Kulapandy. This was commonly used in Tanjore where the caste distinction was very severe.
Manucci, N., Storia Do Mogor, London, 1907, p.60.

43. I.Wallace's Report of the Police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.I, p.60.

yaris.[44] The *talaiyaris* preserved the crops whether standing or staked and acted as an agent between the people and the government in gathering the government's share or *varum*. During *maramat* season they collected the labourers and led them to the fields to attend to several works like ploughing and sowing. They also led the people to the palace and watched the at work and kept an eye on them so that they neither absconded nor shirked from the work allotted to them and thus made the labourers to discharge their duties. The *talaiyaris* also regulated the flow in the water courses and watched over the rivers and dams, checked the leakages, embanked the rivers and reservoirs with the help of labourers. In case of any leakage in the reservoir they reported the matter to the amuldar or any other local officer near them and made arrangements to rectify and stop the leakage. The talaiyaris took meticulous care for the supply of adequate water to the crops in their villages. When the crops in the field were ready for harvest they protected them from depradation by men and animals. During harvest the talaiyaris assembled the labourers for reaping, thrashing and storing the grains and in case of dry grains, they helped in storing them up in the particular place allotted for the purpose. During religious festivals they assembled the people for the purpose of drawing the huge chariots of the temple cars and idols which were deemed to be very important in the eyes of the people. They hauled up the chosen people and gave them directions to pull the ponderous chariots. The talaiyaris of the different villages assembled and sought the help of the hircārās and monigars to maintain law and order till the last day of the festival.[45] On the arrival of strangers and visitors into their territory they registered their names guided them in their visit and took care of their personal belongings. They ensured the good conduct of the strangers in the kingdom.[46]

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[44] *Talaiyari*: *Talai* - A Tamil word, means head. *yari* is also a Tamil term which is *rendered* in later period as *'yarippukkaran'* which is a *corruption* of *visarippukkaran*. In the later period of the Vijayanagar Empire this term was in vogue: *Talavar* - in Telugu and *Talaiyari* in Tamil. Venkataramanayya, N., *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, pp.253-254. In parts of the Telugu Country the Mutrachas, acted as the watchmen. They were known as *Talarivallu* or watchman and in like manner the Bedras are called *Talarivandalu* in the Kurnool and Bellari Districts. At any rate they continued in existence even after the abolition of the kaval system in 1860, when the mofussil police was re-organised all claims and services of the *Talaiyaris* were formally abandoned.

Thurston, E., *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, pp.2-3.

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[45] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, pp.9-13.

The Hircārās

In order to check any form of rebellious activities and to report on different developments the rulers kept spies all over the country. The Marathas employed three categories of spies with distinct duties. They were the *hircārās*,[47] *doleyats* and the *arkars* in order of status.[48] The rajah utilised the services of the *hircārās* in different ways to carry letters, convey messages from kingdom to kingdom and transport money and merchandise.[49] The *hircārās* worked in the office of every officer of note and maintained the attendance register.[50] The hircārās went in disguise and carried the news in a small slip of paper about six or seven inches long and rolled it with the help of a broad cardboard or stick. Sometimes the rolled slips were put in hollow sticks or carried them in his turban or nostrils. In case of danger the hircārās swallowed the chit and later took a strong purgative and brought the swallowed material out.[51] During war time they moved from place to place secretly and guided the forces in the march as they had a thoraugh knowledge of the neighbouring countries.[52] They were extremely dexterous in making the model of a fort with the knowledge they had acquired.[53] The doleyats were the personal attendants of officials. They were graded higher than the other official attendants.[54] As foot men they carried only ordinary letters. While carrying the news letters, they usually moved in pairs for protection and keenly observed the attitudes of the people. If they suspected any trace of a rebellion they informed the king directly or through his trusted officer.[55] The *darogha* or the head *hircārās* was the head of the intelligence department.[56] He received intelligence from his inferiors and transmitted it to the *faujdar*.[57] In difficult circumstances the *darogha* personally visited the places and collected information.[58]

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[46] Eliza Hoole, *Op.cit.*, p.50.

[47] Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement of Tanjore, 1804, p.35.
Hircara - Literally meaning a courier of news, but in reality a spy who generally brought oral news and at times carried news letters, Jadunath Sarkar, *Op.cit.*, p.47.

[48] Subramonian, K.R., *Op.cit.*, p.79.

[49] Broughton, T.D., *Op.cit.*, p.12.

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[50] Shelvankar Report, p.10.

[51] Radhakrishna Aiyar, S., Op.cit., p.239.

[52] General Stuart, 11 March 1799, Letter to Rt.Hon. Mornington, Secret Consultations, Vol.7, p.269.

[53] Col.Fullarton, 7 January 1785, address to the Court of Directors regarding his proceedings, Military Sundries, Vol.66, p.101.

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[54] Nelson, J.H., *Madura District Manual*, Madras, 1968, p.166.

[55] Copy of a letter in the Maratha Language despatched on the 16 July 1767, M.C.C., Vol.15, p.16.

[56] Pratap Singh, Rajah of Tanjore, Letter to Madras Council, received on the 25 February 1753, *Ibid*., Vol.I, p.39.

[57] Charles Harris' Report to the Committee, [illegible] May 1804, p.91.

[58] Pratap Singh, King of Tanjore, Letter to the Governor, received on 25 February 1753, M.C.C., Vol.1, p.39.

Detection of Crime

The kavalcārās were entrusted with certain duties to be performed to the villagers and the state. In performing their duties, the kāvalcārās failed to function as a responsible guardian of the people's belongings. This left the security of the persons and property in a precarious state. As the kāvalcārās were made responsible for all thefts committed in their area,[59] they safeguarded the persons and their property. Restoring stolen things to the loser was the duty of the kāvalcārās.60 Failure to do so caused the forfeiture of a part of their remuneration.[61] In villages the kāvalcārās adopted a different procedure in the detection of crimes.

In villages where the people suspected a robbery or theft, they reported the matter to the patel and karnam. In turn the patel and the karnam directed the kāvalcārās of the particular village to endeavour to discover the offenders. As long as the search continued, the talaiyari of the area accompanied the kāvalcārā, for the former had thorough knowledge of the inhabitants and their conducts. They started the operation looking for the footprints of the robbers. On finding the footprints the talaiyari measured the footprints and pursued the search. If the footprints went to a house in the village, he seized the person whose footprints coincided with them, if they went to the fields, he traced them till they reached the boundary of the village and waited for the talaiyari and kāvalcārā of that village and showed the footprints that had passed out of his boundary. The kāvalcārā of that area on being satisfied, continued the search with the talaiyaris of the villages through which he passed until he reached the limits of his own village. There he stopped and waited for the arrival of the kāvalcārā of the adjoining village.[62] The kāvalcārā in whose limit the robber was last found had to make good the loss or he had to produce the robber.[63]

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[59] I.Wallace's Report of the Police of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.1, p.61.

60. Reply to the Committee's letter of the 14 March 1806, Ibid., Vol.3, p.264.

[61] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.40.

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[62] Reply to the Committee's letter of 14 March 1806, Judicial Sundries, Vol.3, pp.265-267.

[63] I.Wallace's Report on the Police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, 20 September 1805, Ibid., Vol.1, p.61.

If stolen articles were not detected and restored to the loser the kāvalcārās paid half of the value of the stolen property to the loser. Very often the kāvalcārās lost a portion of their remuneration and suffered hardships.[64] If they failed or evaded payment, the amuldars made up the loss from the kāval fees.[65] Occasionally, the kāvalcārās exercised magisterial authority also. They administered justice and punished the robbers and thieves who committed robbery and theft.[66] They kept watch over the cutchery along with the sibbendis and sometimes acted as the gomastās in the cutchery.[67] Combination of several functions rendered the kāvalkārās indispensable during those days.

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[64] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.40.

[65] Reply to the Committee's Letter, 14 March 1806, Judicial Sundries, Vol.3, pp.267-268.

[66] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.36.

[67] Report of the Committee on the General Embezzlement of the country, 1804, p.56.

Kāval allowance

In return to their services the kāvalcārās enjoyed three modes of allowances. In the first mode the people and the Government jointly set aside one per cent [68] of the gross produce from the lands,[69] called yeralee.[70] Besides this they enjoyed the usual deshkāval fee collected from the people. In the second mode the government took up the responsibility of paying the kāval fee. Instead of payiing in cash, the state permitted them to collect house taxes and granted them lands from which they could make up their subsistence.[71] In the third mode the kāvalcārās personally collected rates for the ploughs, bullocks and horses from peasants. They also collected certain number of sheep from

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68. Charles Harris, 23 June 1800, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore District Records, Vol.3201, pp.2-3.

69. I.Wallace's Report on the Police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.1, p.62.

70. Charles Harris, 23 April 1804, Letter to the Board of Revenue, Tanjore Disctrict Records, Vol.3200, pp.168-170.

71. Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.7.

the inhabitants for performing certain religious ceremonies. From the merchants they collected a tax for the protection they rendered for their business premises and articles.[72] The kāvalcārās levied an undefined permanent tax on all exports in some important towns, on all exports and imports in the sea coast.[73] In case of delay in payment, the kāvalcārās rented the custom houses and collected the amount due to them from the renters.[74]

In the later years of Maratha administration when their vexatious demands and collections increased, the government fixed the rate of kāval fee and directed the inhabitants and the land holders to pay the kāval allowance direct in the treasury. The kudi kāvalcārās enjoyed a separate allowance called the sotantirams and house taxes. They also had lands attached to their kavelly under the rent free tenure.

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[72] I.Wallace's Report to the Police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.1, pp.62-63.

[73] Commission for the Revision of Judicial System, 15 July 1815, pp.992-993.

[74] Report from the Principal Collector of Ceded Districts, 28 March 1802, p.222.

In no way they were second to the *kāvalcārās* in exacting as much as possible from the people. When the *kāvalcārās* receive their remuneration, they paid a small portion to the *talaiyaris* and the *visarippukkarans* under their control.[75]

In villages where the *talaiyari* was the only police offic he received his pay direct from the people and the government. This included all the usual allowances of the *kāval* establishment. In some villages the inhabitants paid one star *pagoda* or twenty five *panams* only.[76] The defrayment of salary to the *kāvalcārās* was not uniform throughout the country. It depended upon the fertility of the soild and the produce of the lands.[77] The *kāval* allowance was meant for providing money for the means of livelihood of *kāvalcārās*. But in course of time the number of unapprehended thieves and robbers increased. The compensation for the loss of property

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75. Report of the Police Committee, 1813, pp.7-16.

76. *Ibid*., p.9.

77. I.Wallace's Report on the police of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, 20 September 1805, Judicial Sundries, Vol.1, p.64.

was not paid regularly and so the government resolved to withhold a portion of the kāval allowance to discharge compensation to the inhabitants who sustained robbery or theft. This reduced the amount of salary of the kāvalcārās and no wonder they joined hands with the thieves, robbers and outlaws in committing depredation upon the country.

As a result the kāvalcārās turned into a lawless bandity. They absconded from their duty and played an active role in the pillaging of the country. They did not lose any opportunity to commit depredation of the revenue of the state and the fields of the people alike.[78] Nevertheless with a profession of obedience and respect, the kāvalcārās in several areas pretended to perform their duty wonderfully well. Many of them escaped to the adjoining Danish and French settlements where they had similar connection.[79] When the central government became weak, the kāvalcārās directed people to refrain from all dealings with the sircar. During harvest they directed the people to forbear from attending to works such as cutting, thrashing and heaping them up. The people obeyed their command lest they should bear the consequences like pillaging or burning of their houses.[80] During external aggression they turned rebels and in times of peace they turned into plunderers and marauders.[81] The kāvalcārās thus lost their status in the eyes of the people.

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[78] From Alexander Grant, December 1797 and January 1798, Letter to Edward Saunders, President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3232, p.87.

[79] George Andrew Ram and E.W.Fallow Field, 21 June 1791, Letter to Huddleston, Member of the Assumed Revenue, Tanjore Proceedings, Vol.1, pp.386-387.

The Report of the Police Committee, 1813 tells of the callous behaviours and inefficiency of the kāvalcārās. Of the 150 cases of robbery filed only forty six were apprehended; 858 robbers had been brought to trial in 256 cases; 2765 persons remained unapprehended. For 337 theft cases 700 persons had been brought to trial. Of the 84 cases registered 300 thieves had not been discovered. Out of the 940 cases of assault and other misdemeanour 3678 persons had been prosecuted while in 1213 cases 6637 persons had not been apprehended.[82] Discredited by corruption and infamy the kāvalcārā system fell into decay.

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[80] Alexander Grant, Letter to Edward Saunders, President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Mayavaram Correspondence, Vol.3232, pp.87-88.

[81] Extract of a Report from the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts, 28 March 1802, pp.221-222.

The inadequate payment and improper distribution of the kāvalcārās affected the peace and tranquility of the country. As the Marathas began to decline the defects appeared more pronounced. When Charles Harris took over the administration of Tanjore as a Collector in 1802, he altered the mode of payments to the kāvalcārās, abolished the alienation of land allotted to them and fixed a proportion of the actual gross produce amounting to two kalams to two maracāls. He collected two and one by six (2 1/6) per cent for the support of the kāvalkārās and a half per cent for the talaiyaris.[83] Thus the institution which had been associated with the preservation of peace and order of the country from the ancient past came to be associated with the British administration, which substituted a regular police in its place in 1813.

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[82] Report of the Police Committee, 1813, p.32.

[83] *Ibid*., p.84.

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GLOSSARY

Abkari	- The excise duty levied on spritu liquors
Adickrain	- A tenure in which the occupant h a defined portion of the village lands on which he has proprietor rights
Adyaksha	- Chief Justice
Allahayadapudy	- A poll tax imposed by the Muslim
Almāgānum	- A tax collected for the expenditure of the local sub-divisions
Amāni	- A village settlement under which state received its share from the cultivators in kind or its connec value
Amberkhānā	- A state department in charge of storing grains
Ameena	- Excise man
Amuldār	- Administrator of a āhāṇam, a ren
Artha mānyam	- Half rent free land
Arikars	- Inferior type of spies
Asanas	- Exercise done to keep the mind an the body fit
Aṣṭapradhan	- A council of eight ministers
Aswadam	- A holy tree
Athodapudy	- Additional tax levied and collecte in view of materials required for making rockets during dasara festi
Āṭṭavana	- Chief accountant or head of the taxation department
Āttupachel	- Lands watered by rivers

Avardanis	- Account keeper of the sibbendy p
Bakshi	- Paymaster general
Bunka Nāyak	- Personal bodyguard of the king
Batta	- Extra allowance paid to the circ servants by the people or by the state for their service
Cabuliat	- A written agreement signed by th renter of a village or any are of land with the state
Cadjan	- A term used by Europeans for lea of the fan - palm on which the people of South India wrote thei agreements or letters
[illegible]aracat	- A term used in the Tamil Country for the construction of bunds of tanks and rivers.
Chakram	- Generally denotes a wheel. It was an ancient coin current form in South India equal to 1/16 of a pagoda.
Chāvadi	- A public office where rent is pa and other business regarding the revenue are transacted
Chekku	- A country oil press made up of granite
Chembu	- A bronze vessel measuring one litre approximately
Chetty pagady Chetty magama	- Professional taxes collected fro the Chetty community, a merchant class of people.
Chillaracūdutal	- A sundry tax collected over and above the established rate of ta for various purpose by the state
Choultries	- A covered public building constructed for the accommodation of travellers

Choukidar	- Manager of an excise collection
Cudapunjaipudy	- Additional tax collected from th dry lands for the additional cultivation done
Dabir mūri	- A system of land revenue settlem introduced by the Nawab. It was village settlement in which the whole village was held responsib
Dalavoy	- The Commander-in-chief of the ar
Damasha mūri	- A progressive taxation in which the maximum rate of tax was reac in four to ten years
Dapana karta	- An executive officer of the judi department
Daroga	- Superintendent of the posts and intelligence department or a ove
Dasara	- A Hindu festival
Dharmādhikāri	- One of the members of the astapr dhan who was in charge of the te and exercised judicial authority
Dharna	- A defiant remonstrance staged to ridicule public authority for it failure
Dimati	- Superintending officer of the ma
Diwān	- Another member of the astapradha who was in charge of the revenue department
Doleyats	- Inferior class of spy
Duftari	- Record office
Duftar	- Record keeper
Eka Bhoham	- An individual tenure of landhold in which a family or a person has all the rights of the portion of the land which he possessed

Foujdar	- Military authority of a subah
Gauspady	- A tax instead of straw supplied to the palace by the inhabitants
Gomusta	- A clerk
Hajeeb	- Officer-in-charge of signing agr ments in the suncum department
Hanganum sibbendi	- A government servant who was in charge of checking the harvest o the lands to avoid the inhabitan defrauding the state.
Hanumanthasana	- An exercise taught to the soldie
Har-har-Mahadev	- The war cry of the Marathas
Harkoon	- The commissory of stores
Havildar	- A military officer
Hircārā	- Spies who carried news letters secretly
Inam	- Land given free of rent
Istawa	- A system of land revenue in vogue in the Konkan
Jagir	- An allowance in land, given in li of money; Holder of a jagir was jagirdar
Jamedar	- Military officer
Kānāhs	- State departments. They were eighteen in number
Kajana	- Treasury
Kajana jagareer	- Tax collected to meet the expenditure of the kajana
kallar	- A predatory tribal people indulge in theft
Kallemanyam	- One-fourth of the produce of the land as allowance

Kanakkupillai	- Accountant
Kāni	- The denomination of land measure varying in different places but the standard is considered to be equal to 57,600 sq.f In Tanjore the standard measurem of a kani was less
Karaka	- A government servant appointed t estimate the various degrees of the growth of the crop
Karbar	- Office Superintendent
Karkanis	- The Commissary
Karnam	- Village Officer
Kāvalcārā	- Village Police Officer
Kāval pāṭṭacaṭṭu	- A fixed tax paid by the kavalcar for the backyard of his house
Kāval poruppu	- A professional tax or inheritanc tax paid by the kavalcaras
Kāvelly	- The circuit of a kavalcara
Kāwā	- A personal attender of the king
Kazi	- A judicial officer of the Muslim
Kharcpota	- The spending treasury of the Mara
Killedar	- Commandant of the military force of a fort
Kilukkuthadi	- A stick attached with numerous be
Kissawala	- Narrator of stories to the royalt
Kodical pāṭṭacaṭṭu	- Tax on betel garden and creepers
Kotwāl	- Police officer of a town
Kudimaramat	- Maintenance of water courses unde taken by the villagers
Kudivaram	- Share of the tenants in the net produce of the land
Kuli	- 144 sq.ft.

Kukutasana	- Posture of a fowl
Machalika	- An agreement or an engagement or declaration in writing
Madavu caṭṭu	- Repairs undertaken by the state on the sluices
Magama	- A communal tax
Mahal	- Twelve departments which looked after the palace administration
Māhāṇam	- A territorial sub-division
Mahatady	- A messenger
Majumdar	- Accountant
Manyam	- free gift
Marakal	- A wooden log measuring about thre and half measures
Mathyastha	- Executive officer of the decision of the judiciary
Māw	- 14,400 Sq.ft of land
Melvaram	- Share of the state in the net produce of the land
Mirasdar	- The hereditary proprietor of the
Mirasi	- Hereditary property especially la
Mohines	- Allowance given to the temples by the state
Mokasa	- Lands **assigned** to any person for his service to the state
Nazerpady	- A present given by the inferiors to the superiors
Nunjai	- We land capable of being irrigated
Palāppaṭṭaday	- A professional tax on merchants and artisans
Peshcar	- An official delegate
Pikes	- Spears
poniard	- Dagger
Potnis	- One who was in-charge of the cash of the state

Post-vari	- A tax collected to meet the expe ses of the festivals
Pudybob	- A tax collected from the pathaka
Pudy vettalay	- A tax collected in lieu of prese of betel to the monigars
Pucca Kuttahai	- Full lease
Puliantope	- A tax on the tamarind garden
Punjai	- Dry land
Punis	- Correspondence Clerk
Puramūri	- Full assessment
Purohits	- Chief priest
Rayasam	- Chief Secretary
Saṁprītivari	- An allowance collected for the saṁpriti
Sankaranti vari	- A festival tax (pongal festival)
Sankirama pandar	- Armoury
Sardar	- A higher military rank
Sarkuttahai	- A tax collected for fishing in the tanks and rivers
Sarvamānyam	- Full rent free land
Sawyer	- Inland trans duty
Senapathi	- Commander-in-chief
Serimahal	- A palace department to look afte the comforts of the palace dwell
Shiledar	- Private cavalry men
Sirkīl	- Chamberline of the royal househo
Sotantram	- Rent free lands
Sowcars	- Native money-lenders

Sthira	- Halt
Subāh	- A province
Subēdār	- Head of the subah
Suncum	- Customs
Takkavi	- Advance of money to tenents for cultivation when necessary means are wanting.
Talaiyari	- Village watcher
Tampaṭṭagar pudy	- A tax collected from the brass s
Theervai	- Octroi
Vaikal vari	- A tax collected for the maintena and upkeep of the small river
Vakil	- Official representative
Valarythadi	- A curved stick about 30" length
Varsha pāṭṭacaṭṭu	- Yearly fixed tax
Veli	- 3,500 Sq.ft. of land
Virasanathan	- Asanas for soldiers
Visarippukaran	- Village police
vaṭṭam	- A local sub-division
Yarale	- A fee collected for the kavalcar
Yeksal mūri	- One year settlement

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APPENDIX

Names of pathakams

1. Alankudy
2. Sacharkudy
3. Poondy
4. Cuddalore
5. Patteeswaram
6. Neecupe
7. Marathoor
8. Puthukudy
9. Thenkaru Chozhiyoor
10. Madappuram
11. Mathanapuram
12. Ramachandrapuram
13. Mangkudy
14. Kangkanagar
15. Seripalaiyoor
16. Thovoor
17. Rajakuripantharvady
18. Muthukudy
19. Puliyoor
20. Perumalkovil
21. Kombanalloor
22. Kollengudy
23. Konakurichi
24. Veeravanthanalloor
25. Nathamkoil
26. Thiruppanikottai
27. Thirukudy
28. Modikottai
29. Kalyanipuram
30. Thenkarai
31. Harithwaramangalam
32. Thalayanalloor
33. Renganathapuram
34. Thirukkalampur
35. Orathanad
36. Soolamangalam
37. Narasingkanpettai
38. Ramanujapuram
39. Elangkadu
40. Perambur
41. Thennam
42. Uthamathanapuram
43. Keeranoor Madappuram
44. Thenkaraiputhoor
45. Rajakury
46. Nachiarkudy
47. Kurinchipettai
48. Theepamthuruthy
49. Avilianalloor
50. Mudikotti
51. Vishnupuram
52. Panthanalloor
53. Sasthamoolai
54. Malavacheri
55. Vallaloor
56. Thirilokam
57. Rajendranalloor
58. Kuranaud
59. Carapoor
60. Manikudy

61. Vapatoor
62. Govindakudy
63. Nadapoor
64. Kodavasal
65. Cottah
66. Thirunalloor
67. Aravutnoor
68. Pandaravadai
69. Vudadityamangalam
70. Thirivesaloor
71. Mudikondan
72. Anakudy
73. Kammaikudy
74. Alavally
75. Vadavar
76. Keelapperaulam
77. Vadavar
78. Trenaulum
79. Aunentraharee kurichy
80. Vaunadora
81. Toyali
82. Neelakudy
83. Kumbakonam
84. Thirilokam
85. Vistapuram
86. Vadapandimangalam
87. Velakudy
88. Poonavasal
89. Cholanoor
90. Vikrapoondy
91. Shaji Rajapuram
92. Neermula
93. Kattankudy
94. Chackeri
95. Kuruvandi
96. Perumalagaram
97. Kallikudi
98. Cockalini
99. Toppaulum
100. Pozhiyoor
101. Sapulagramam
102. Kovilvail
103. Keelumud
104. Peelankudy
105. Talanayar
106. Valikudy
107. Aathanoor
108. Thalavantodal
109. Therkivadu
110. Salichatram
111. Thiyagarayapuram
112. Kottur
113. Kadakuruvu
114. Cavanoor
115. Dwarakundanellore
116. Overacherry
117. Vadumpettai
118. Sananallore
119. Mannarkovil
120. Kurmatoor

121. Cadavankudy
122. Kalappal
123. Perumalai
124. Nagaraswoor
125. Vadoor
126. Karapatty Pollam
127. Poliakudy
128. Malesoor
129. Narasingapuram
130. Mayavaram
131. Thiruvaduthurai
132. Nunganalloor
133. Perambur
134. Madananalloor
135. Yedakudy
136. Keelayanoor
137. Maunda
138. Thirumalam
139. Nallada
140. Peralam
141. Kalanivasal
142. Velugam
143. Pulloor
144. Parkulandoor
145. Vallankudy
146. KKanarirajapuram
147. Thirupanandal
148. Keelmakanam
149. Mothikondanalloor
150. Kaliyanoor
151. Nalladi Nanganalloor
152. Poloor
153. Mudapuram
154. Thennampadega
155. Alenkypuram
156. Thirukudinagar
157. Nadankoil
158. Malinalloor
159. Nachwarkudy
160. Kilichpat
161. Naleppi
162. Marathoor
163. Thirupenthurthi

* * *

CONCLUSION

As an ancient kingdom, Tanjore developed its own system of administration under the local rulers. At different periods the Cholas, the Pallavas and the Pandyas exercised their authority over the territory. Their administration combined in itself the features of a centralised monarchy and village community system. After the fall of the ancient powers, the Vijayanagar Empire extended its sway and reduced Tanjore into a province. However, the Nayaks of Tanjore enjoyed a lot of autonomy within the Empire. The Nayaks were virtual rulers but they paid a part of their collections to the Empire. Their administration witnessed the settlement of the Telugus in large number. As a result they controlled the administrative machinery and made Tanjore a centre of their culture.

In 1676 the Marathas wrested control of the territory from the Nayaks. As conquerors from the Konkan, they brought with them their own administrative traditions and usages. However, Ekoji, the founder of the dynasty, attempted no major change. This was partly because of his pre-occupation with the task of consolidation and partly because of his reluctance to break with the indigenous system, for it would have alienated the local inhabitants. But with the consolidation of their authority, the Marathas attempted a reorganisation of the system after their own pattern. The establishment of the *aṣṭapradhān* in the place of the council of *pradhānis* and the creation of the *khandhs* and *mahals* represented a major departure from the traditional set up. Also the Marathas created parallel offices - Maratha and Tamil or Telugu - for they found them essential to maintain their own identity without isolating themselves from the conquered people. These changes came into being during the administration of Shahji and Pratap Singh. Incidentally they contributed to a great expansion of public expenditure.

As it could be understood, the Maratha administrative system in Tanjore was not exclusively Maratha in character. On the otherhand it combined in itself many of the elements borrowed from Chola, Nayak, Konkan and Mughal systems. The rulers, being Hindus, they were expected to uphold the Hindu concept of virtue called *dharma*, but it is not certain whether they adhered to it or not. As the early powers did, the Marathas too brought into the country a monarchical form of government. As it was understood in modern times, there was no separation of powers and there was no system of checks and balances. The judiciary was there, but it was neither organised nor was made independent of the rulers. The territorial divisions continued without any major change, though the terms *mandalam* and *nādu* became defunct. Instead words like *taluqs* and *subāhs* were used. The offices like *dalavoy*, *rāyasam* , *saṁprīti* and *purōhit* continued but the Mohammadan or Marathi words were frequently applied. The *aṣṭapradhān*, the *mahal* and *khānah̄* appeared typically Marathi and were brought from the Konkan. The officers like *faujdar* and the *subēdār* were from Muslim system. In fact the Marathas serving under the sultans of Bijapur and the Mughals came to be considerably influenced by the Muslim customs and practices. Hence the Muslim practices crept into Tanjore too.

The Marathas made Tanjore their home and settled in the country. They gave away a large part of revenue for religious purposes and spent the rest of public income on palace establishments, armed forces, administrative set up and the like. Though the local tradition allowed the ruler to collect one sixth of income from the land as tax, it does not appear that the Maratha rulers observed any such restraint Added to this, the local officials considered it within their right to receive miscellaneous taxes, usually referred to as chillarā kūdutal and other contributions. These practices introduced a system of exaction and oppression. The harassed peasants could make appeals to the rulers, but it is not certain whether they received any remedy. As a result of their attitude and fiscal practices, it does not appear that there developed any sentimental attachment between the rulers and the ruled. This contributed to the inherent contradictions in the administration.

Historical developments and local situations combined together in rendering the administration of the Marathas unenviable. Though they gained possession of Vellore, Jinji and Tanjore in the Tamil Country, they lost possession of the first two territories. As a result the Marathas of Tanjore were not only isolated from other Maratha powers but also were exposed to aggressions from other regions. The country fell an easy prey to the marches and counter marches of the armies. The Nawabs of Arcot committed frequent aggressions and levied contributions. During the Carnatic Wars the Nevayets, the French and Murari Rao made depredations, desolated the villages and destroyed even water courses. When these powers disappeared from the scene of contest, there came the forces of Mysore who too made frequent ravages. As a result villages were burnt and fields were destroyed. Unable to meet the expenses of war, the rulers relied on exactions from the suffering people. When these hostile powers withdrew from Tanjore, there came other difficulties. The English East India Company entered into an alliance with Nawab Mohammad Ali of the Carnatic and rendered military aid for the invasion of the kingdom. As a result the Marathas had to incur considerable expenditure not only on defence but also on war indemnity. The arrears of tribute too had to be cleared. Moreover, palace intrigues, civil wars and succession disputes caused more of strains on the administration. Unable to meet these expenses, the Marathas had to raise loans and had to rely on destructive practices like the assignment of land revenue to the creditors. No wonder the people fell victims to an oppressive system of administration.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century the Maratha administration stood discredited. The reverses suffered by the Maratha powers elsewhere in the country deprived the rulers of Tanjore much of their credibility as a military factor. The assignment and the assumption of revenue administration invited British interventions. A judicial reform was attempted but it proved belated. As the expenditure exceeded the income, pay to the public servants fell into arrears. The pathakdars left with no administrative restraint, preyed upon the peasants. In 1799 when the British took over the revenue administration and restricted the Maratha jurisdiction within the fort of Tanjore, the transition appeared irresistible.

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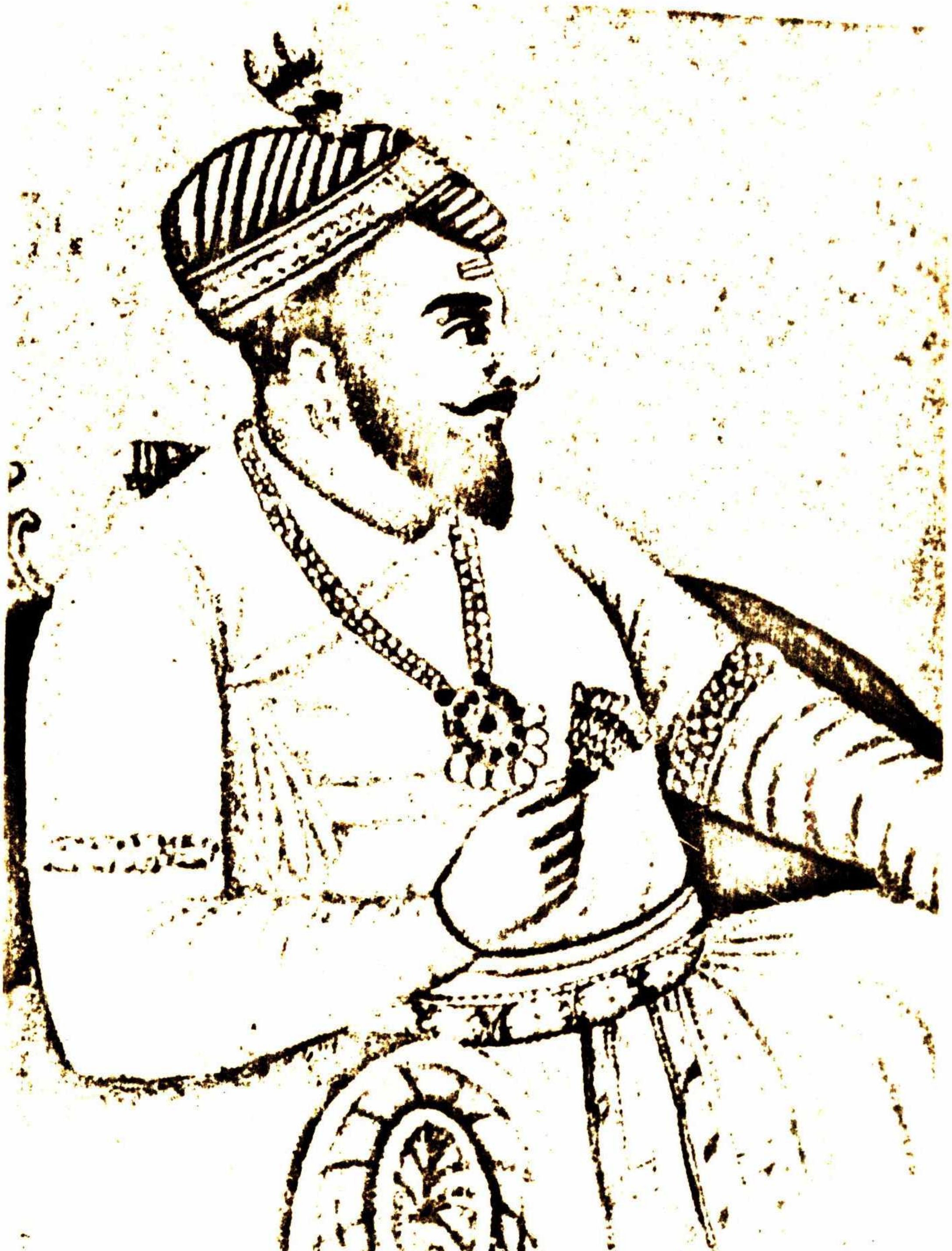
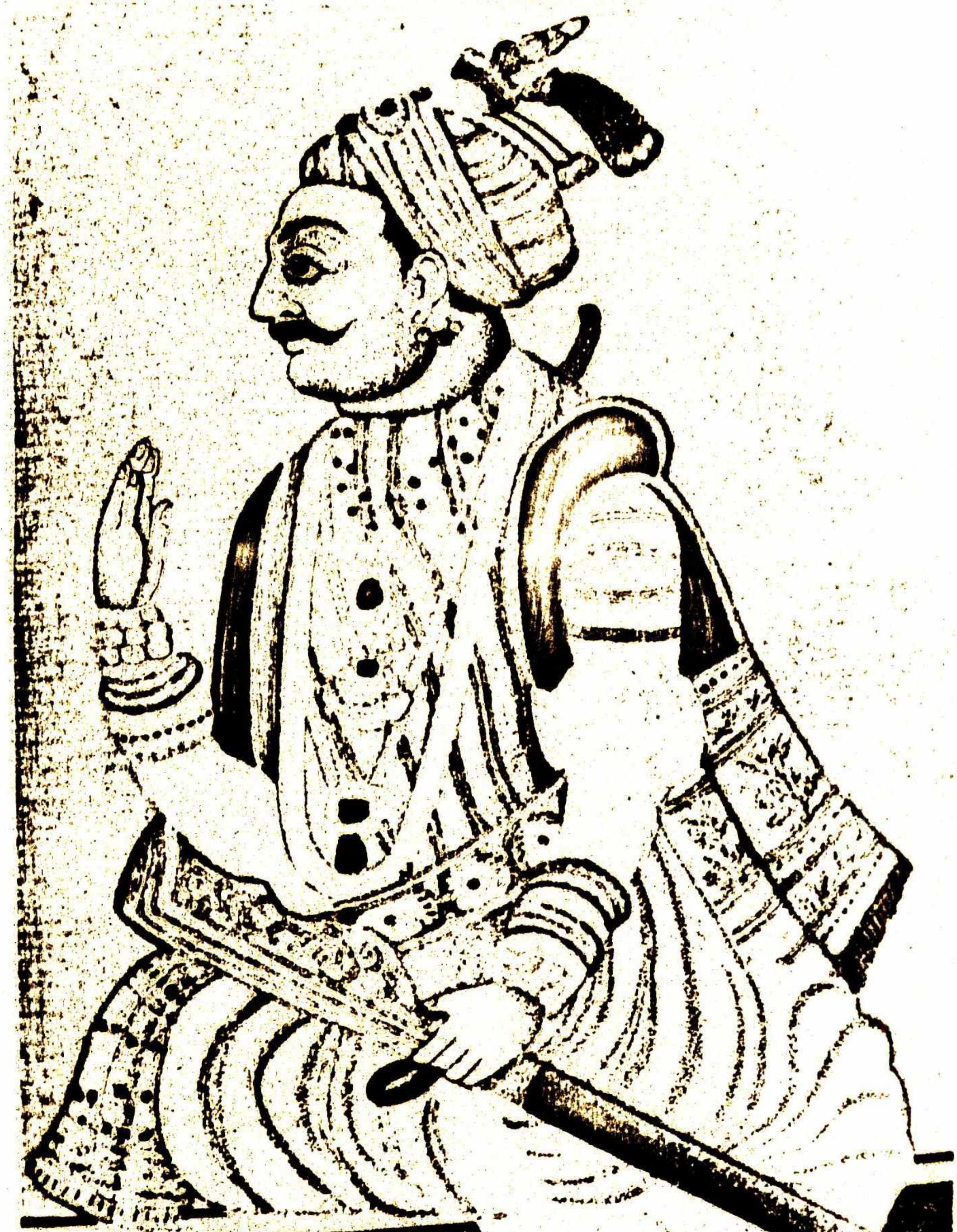
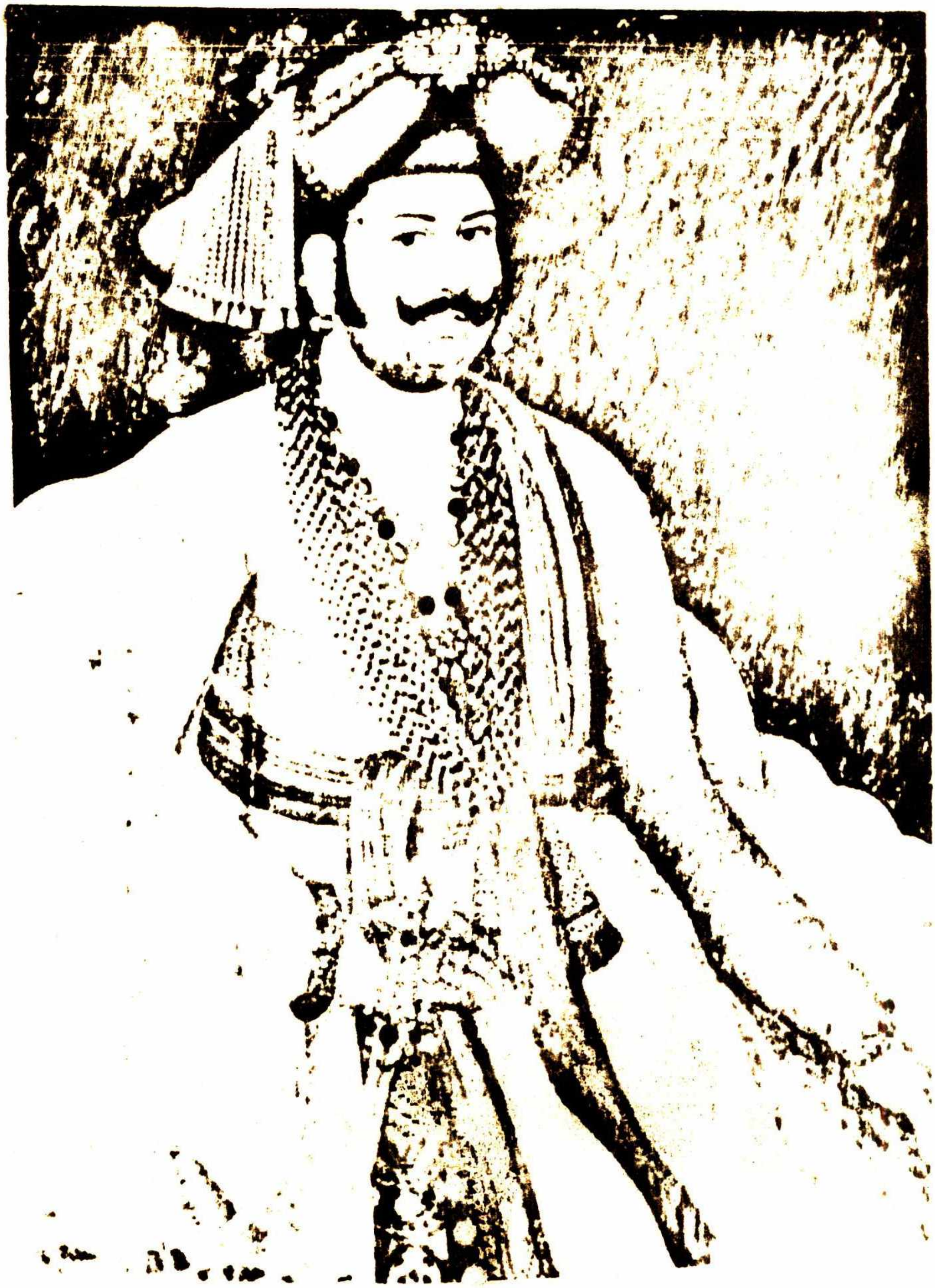


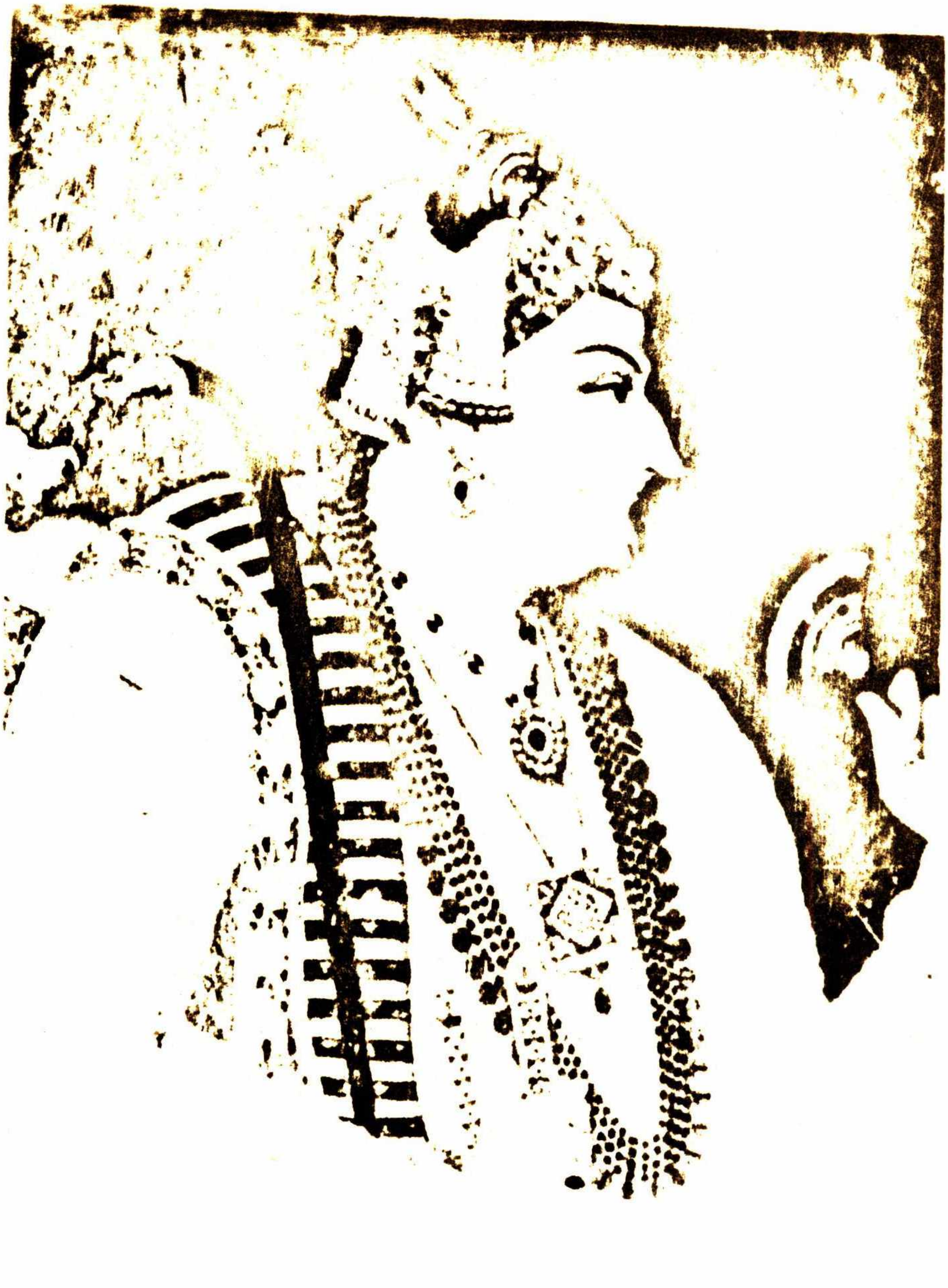
VENKOJI alias EKOJI (1676-1684)



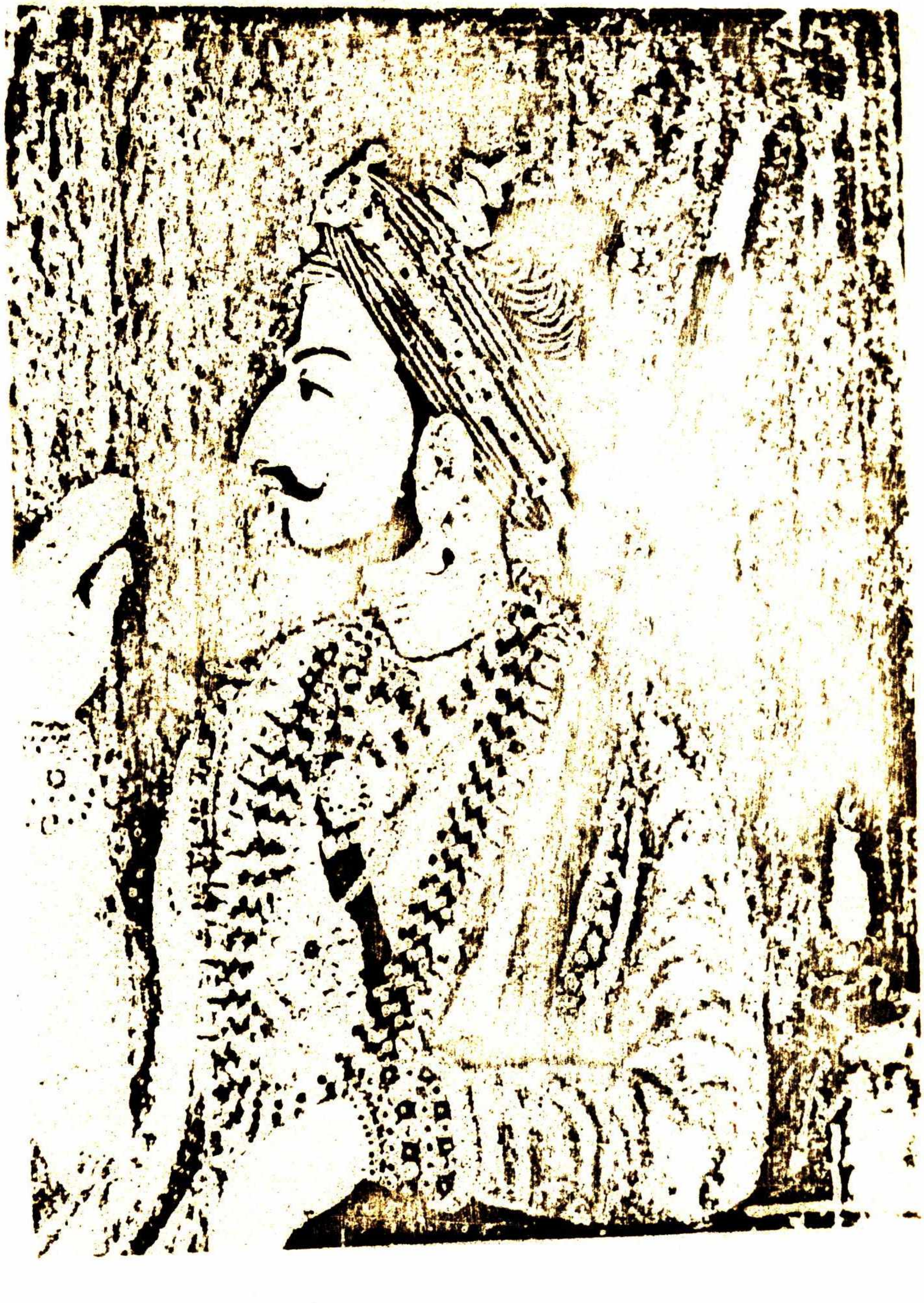
SHAHJI (1684-1712)



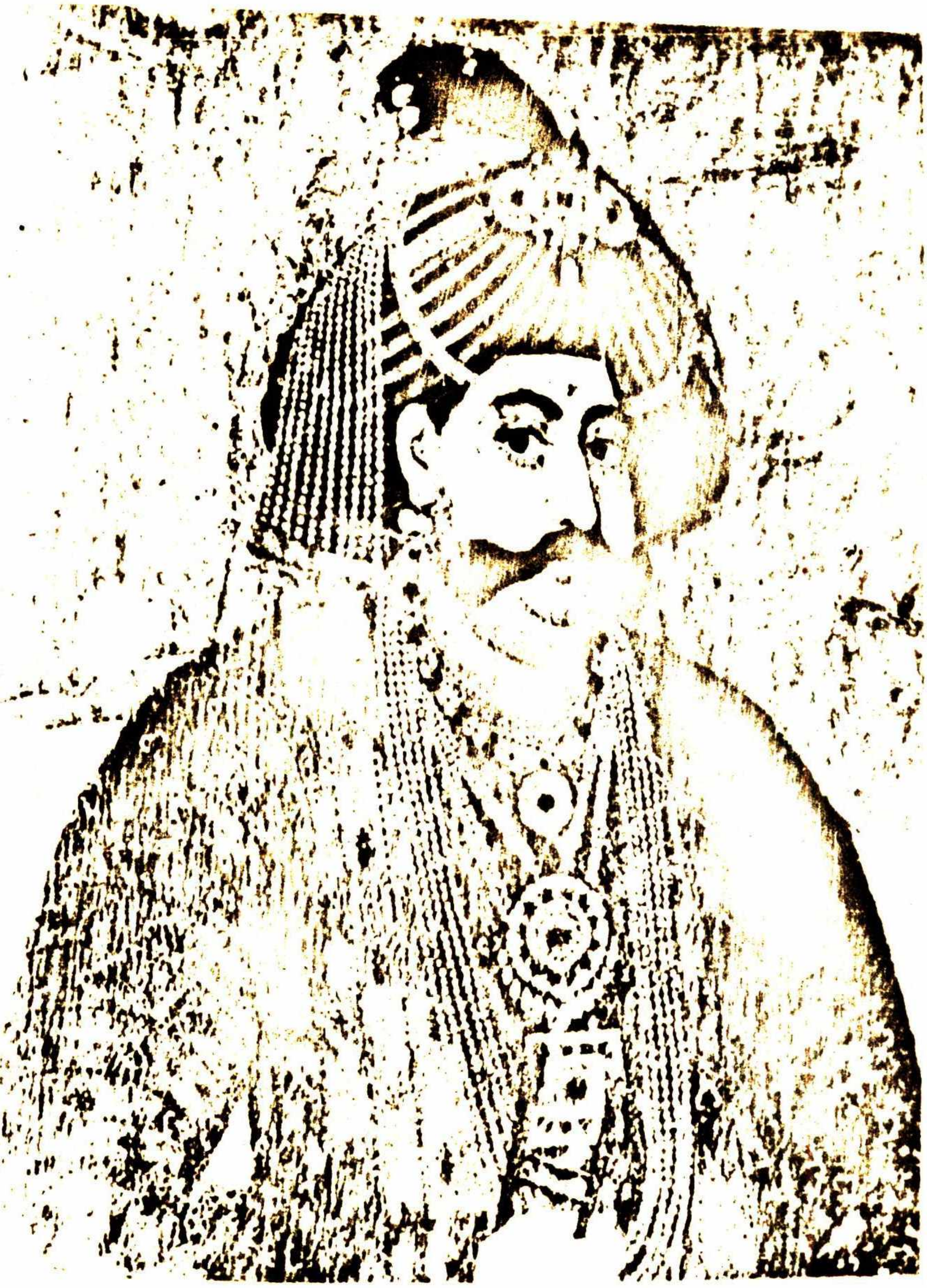
SARFOJI-I (1712-1728)



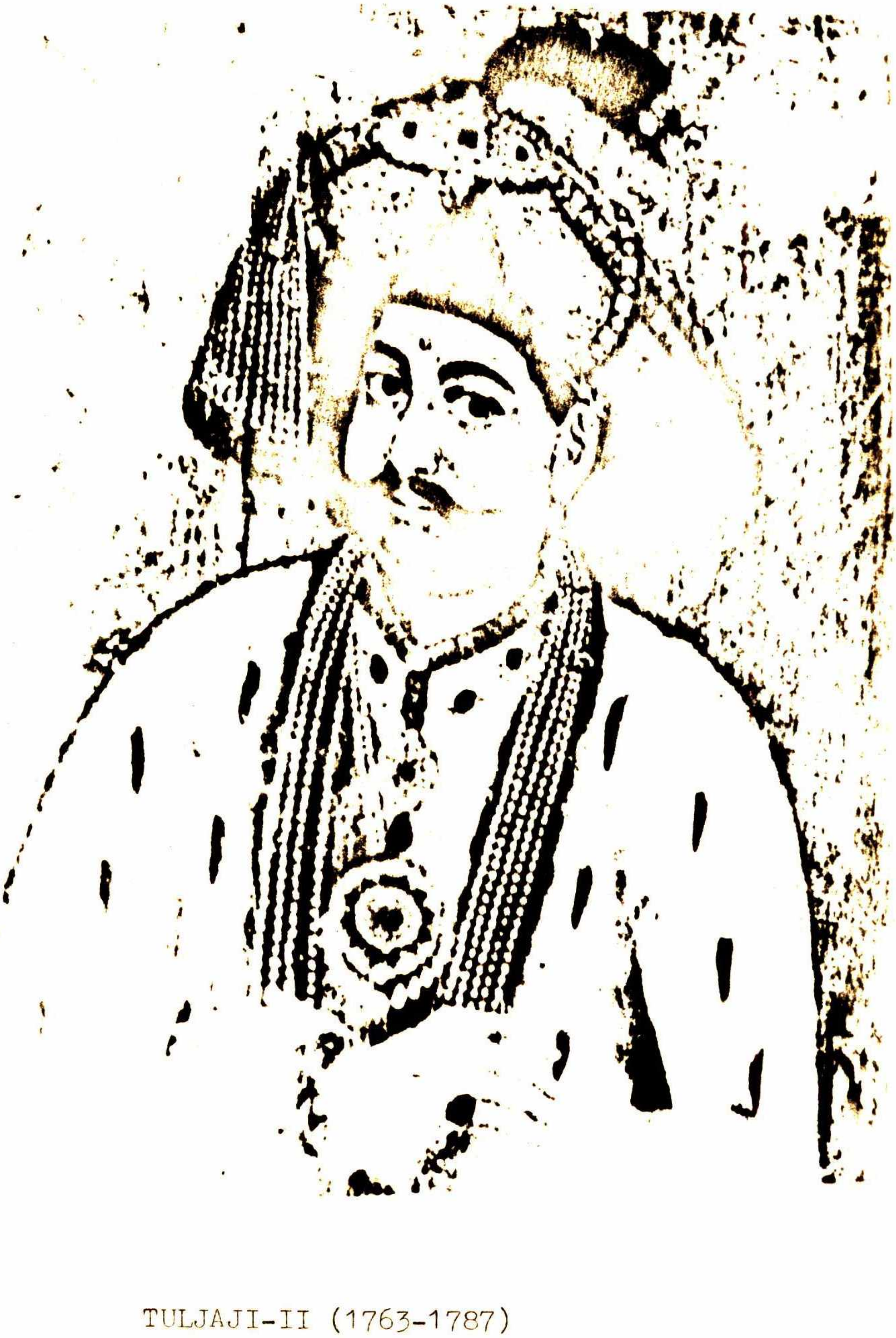
TUKKOJI alias TULJAJI-I (1728-1736)



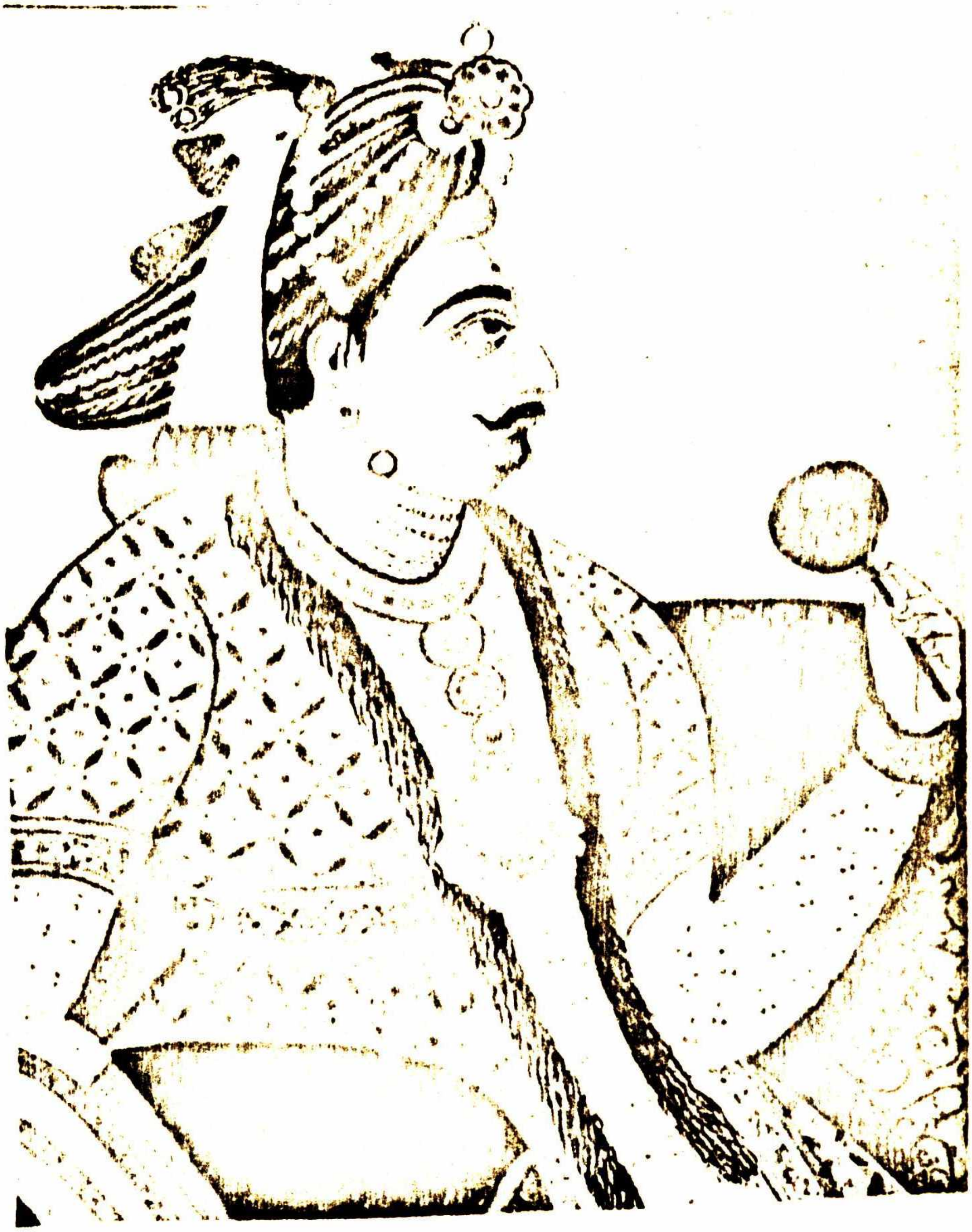
BAVA SAHEB (1736_1737)



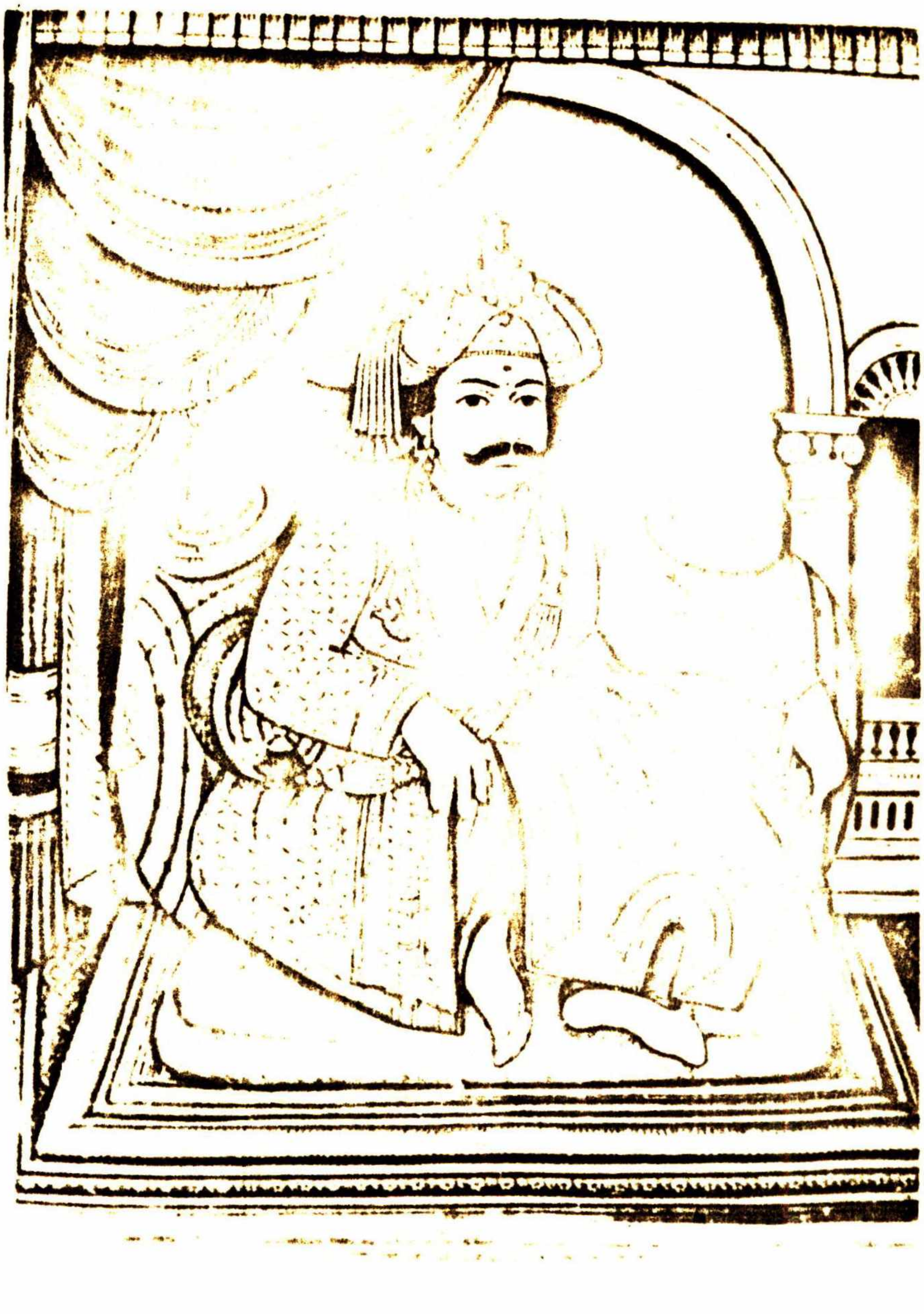
PRATAP SINGH (1739-1763)



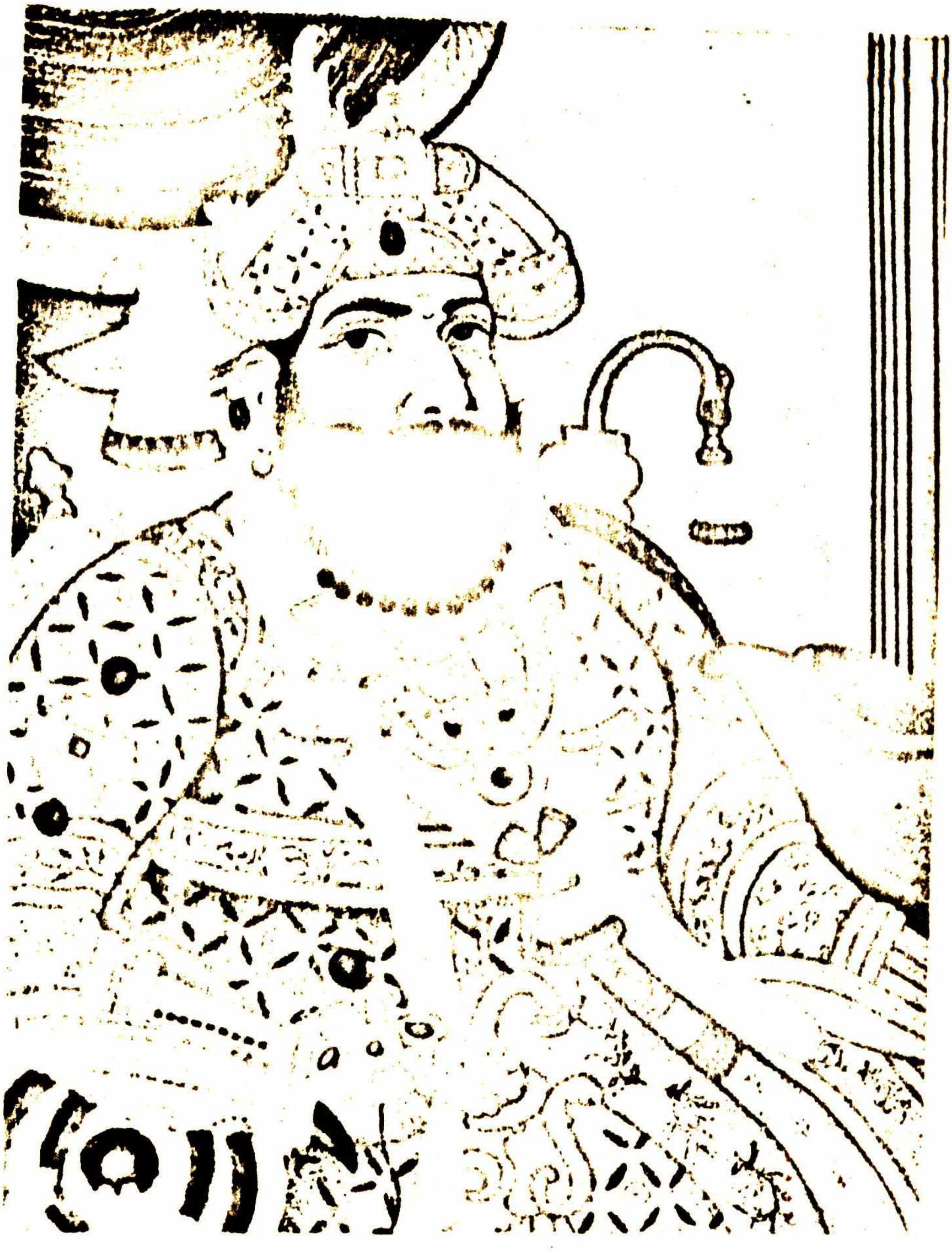
TULJAJI-II (1763-1787)



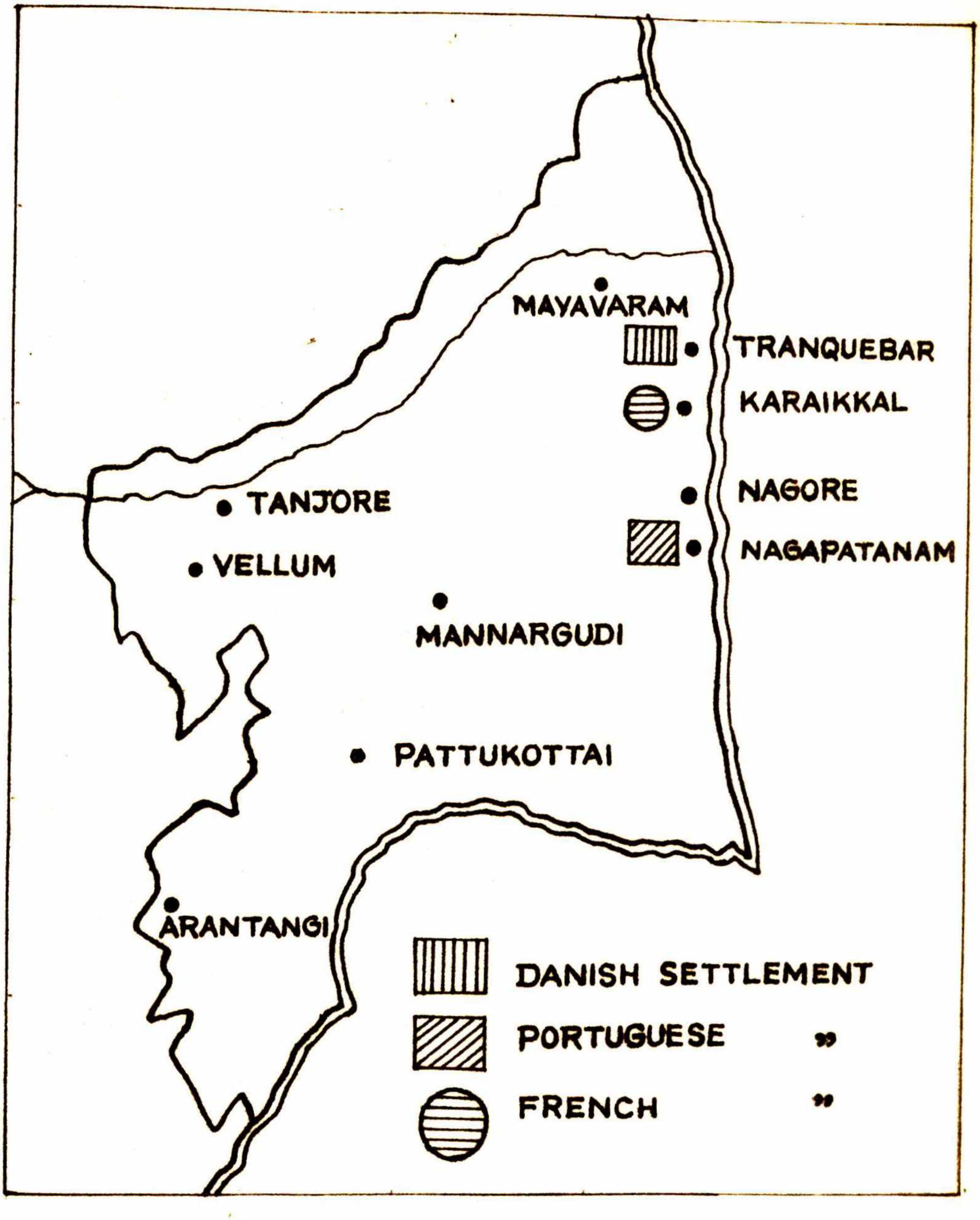
AMIR SINGH (1787-1799)



SARFOJI-II (1799-1833)

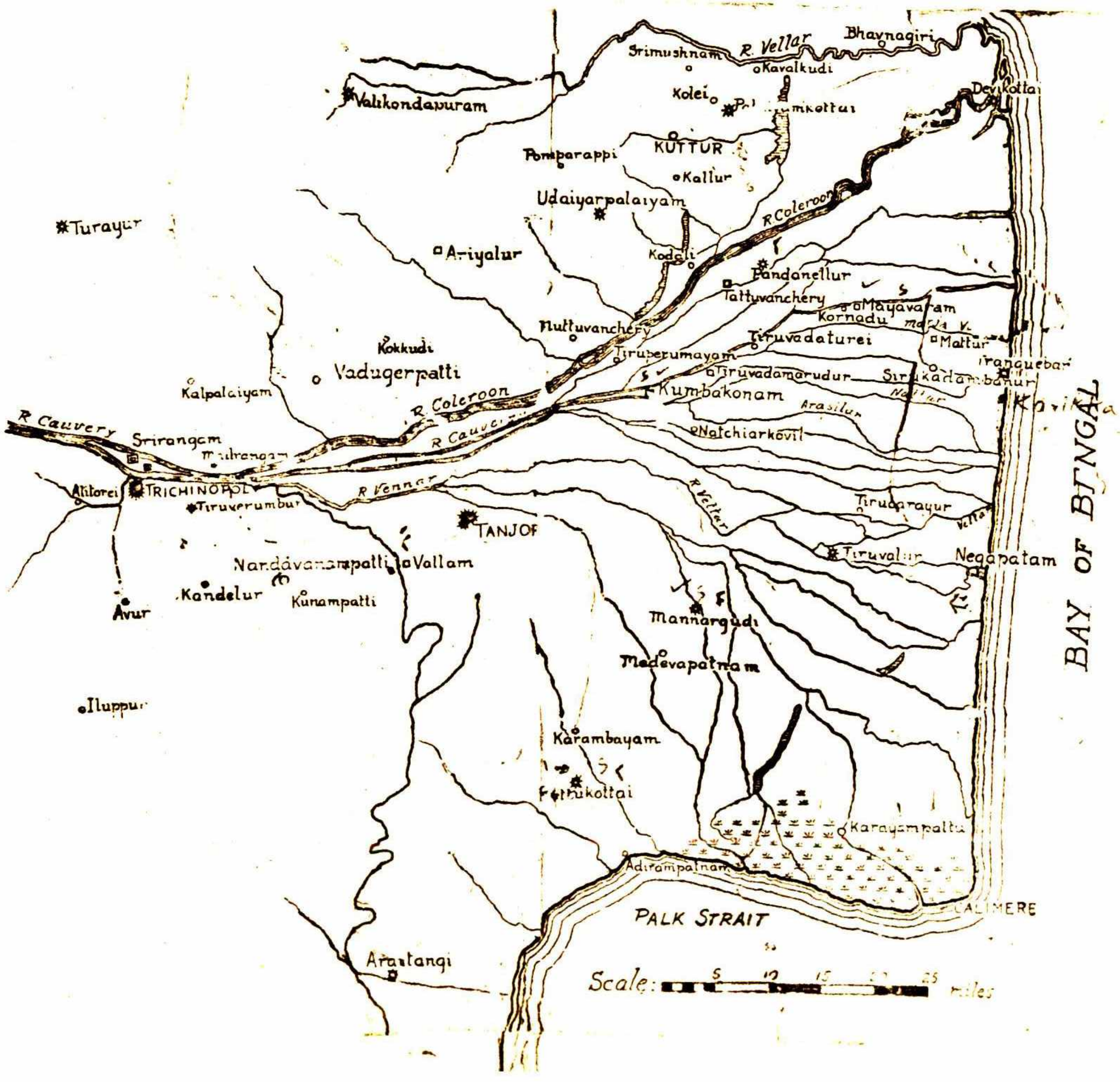


SHIVAJI (1833-1855)


MAYAVARAM
TRANQUEBAR
KARAIKKAL
NAGORE
NAGAPATANAM
TANJORE
VELLUM
MANNARGUDI
PATTUKOTTAI
ARANTANGI
DANISH SETTLEMENT
PORTUGUESE "
FRENCH "

TANJORE UNDER THE MARATHAS - I

TANJORE UNDER THE MARATHAS - II


R. Vellar
Bhavnagiri
Srimushnam
Kavalkudi
Kolei
Devikottai
KUTTUR
Pomparappi
Kallur
Valikondapuram
Udaiyarpalaiyam
R. Coleroon
Turayur
Ariyalur
Kodali
Pandanellur
Tattuvanchery
Mayavaram
Kornadu
Nuttuvanchery
Tiruvadaturei
Mattur
Tiruperumayam
Tranquebar
Tiruvadamarudur
Sirukadambanur
Kumbakonam
Nattar
Arasilur
Kokkudi
Vadugerpatti
Kalpalaiyam
R. Coleroon
R. Cauvery
Srirangam
R. Cauvery
Natchiarkovil
Alitorei
TRICHINOPOLY
R. Vennar
Tiruverumbur
R. Vettar
Tirudarayur
Vettar
TANJORE
Tiruvalur
Negapatam
Nandavanampatti
Vallam
Kandelur
Kunampatti
Avur
Mannargudi
Medevapatnam
Iluppur
Karambayam
Pattukottai
Karayampattu
Adirampatnam
PALK STRAIT
CALIMERE
BAY OF BENGAL
Arantangi
Scale: 5 10 15 20 25 miles